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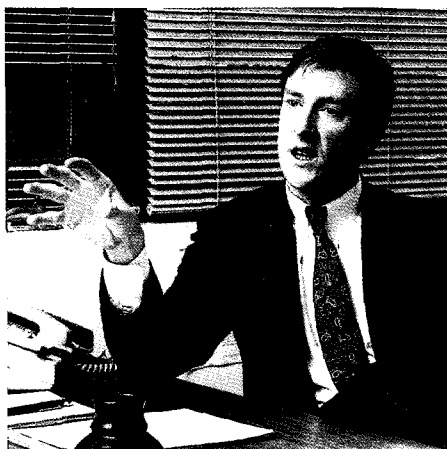
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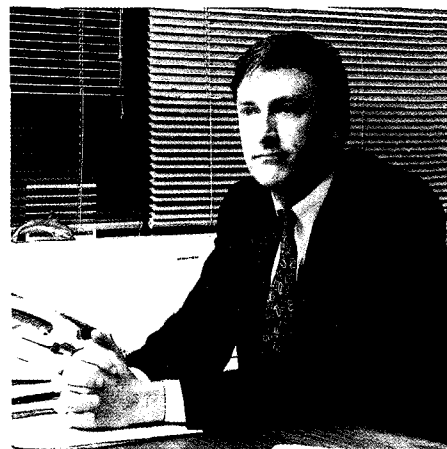


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CALIFORNIA Journal

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For the first time in several years, there is evidence that California farmers can look forward to better times.

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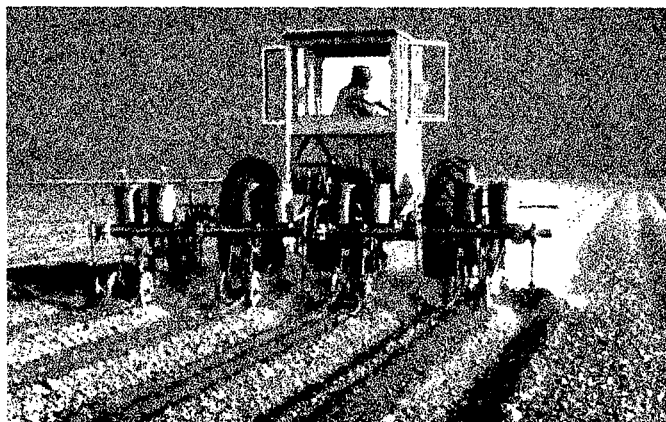
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On the cover: Coit Tower mural by Maxine Albrow; photograph by Don Beatty, copyright 1981.

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UP FRONT

The price of politics has reached \$400 million. That's the amount that just about everyone — the Legislature's Democrats, the Republican governor and all but a few legislative Republicans — agreed should be added to the state budget this year, once everyone found out that an extra \$1.1 billion was around. The state's Gann spending limit could be altered to allow the \$400 million to be spent. Technical changes, not real tampering. Everyone agreed. The only problem was that the governor wanted the Democrats to also agree that the other \$700 million would go back to taxpayers as a Gann rebate. And the Legislature's Democrats wanted the Republicans to also agree that the other \$700 million could be spent on state programs. No one agreed. So they had a face-off until the start of the fiscal year. The result: No one got the \$400 million. Not the schools, not the health-care system and not the taxpayers, at least not yet. Who got the political win? Probably no one.

Intrepid reporter department.

Members of the Capitol press corps are always looking for a hard-hitting investigative story. Take Jim Richardson of *The Press-Enterprise* of Riverside, for example. Richardson thought he'd get a scoop on his fellow newshounds by seeing how many state legislators were wearing their automobile seat belts, as required by state law. So Richardson staked out the entrance to the Capitol's basement garage for a couple of hours. Just as he was about to leave, a paddy wagon full of Sacramento city police pulled up, and the officers accosted Richardson at gunpoint. Seems that the garage entrance is right across the street from a Security-Pacific Bank branch and someone there decided Richardson was planning a holdup. About 20 minutes later everything was cleared up, but not before Richardson spent some time in the back of a patrol car in handcuffs. By the way, all the while a state police officer was no more than 10 yards away from Richardson, guarding the entrance to the garage. Oh, in case you want to know, 44 percent of legislators fail to wear seat belts. That's worse than the general population, where 27 percent refuse to obey the new law.

The results are in on campaign spending by members of the U.S. House of Representatives, and two Californians have made the top 10. That's top 10 out of 870 congressional candidates. The second highest spending Californian (ranked 10th nationally) was Republican Robert Dornan from Orange County who spent \$1.17 million in a tough reelection battle with former Democratic Assemblyman Richard Robinson. And the top-spending Californian? Would you believe Ron Dellums? The Berkeley Democrat shelled out \$1.2 million, good for eighth place.

(Alan Friedenthal, Washington, D.C.)

Gracious loser, he's not. Former independent state Senator Ray Johnson of Chico was knocked off in 1984 by Republican Senator John Doolittle in a bitter and expensive battle caused, in part, by the 1982 reapportionment. The FPCC recently wrote the final chapter in the Johnson-Doolittle race by fining Doolittle and a campaign aide \$5000 for secretly helping a third candidate — Democrat Jack Hornsby. When a reporter called Johnson for a comment on Doolittle, the ex-senator replied: "Oh, god, can't we just drown him and get it over with?"

(Katharine Macdonald, Sacramento)

See the pile of money. See Ross Johnson. He is an assemblyman. He is a Republican. See Bill Honig. He is a Superintendent of Public Instruction. Mr. Johnson says, "Give the pile of money to the taxpayers." Mr. Honig says, "Give the pile of money to the schools."

See everyone call each other names. It is hard to know who is right.

But look! Mr. Johnson has written a "primer." It is five pages long. It is called "Mr. Honig's Secret." Mr. Johnson knows who is wrong. He says Mr. Honig is wrong. He says Mr. Honig wants to rip off the taxpayer. See Mr. Johnson give away copies of his "primer" on the floor of the Assembly.

Here is what Mr. Honig says to Mr. and Mrs. Taxpayer in the primer:

"If you ask what I am doing with the money, I will say you do not like boys and girls. I will say you do not want to help boys and girls learn. I will use a lot of big words. Very big words. Words that sound good. Everyone will believe

me. No one will like you. Everyone will like me."

See Mr. Johnson. He is not Mr. Honig's friend. He is not going to win the Nobel Prize for Literature, either. Poor Mr. Johnson.

(Greg Lucas, Sacramento)

If you can't beat 'em, tax 'em. Assemblyman Charles Calderon, a Whittier Democrat, is proposing that the state impose a tax on illegal drugs. Those who possess illegal substances would be required to purchase tax stamps from the State Board of Equalization. Getting caught without the tax stamp would be a criminal offense. So is getting caught with the drugs. Calderon says the law would give police one more way to crack down on illegal drug sales. "Let's get them where it really hurts: in the pocketbook," says a Calderon press release. The Assembly got Calderon where it hurts; it defeated his bill. Not to be deterred, Calderon placed his measure on the inactive file and plans to turn it into a rebate bill. Wonder if he plans to rebate the money to dealers?

Gadfly of the Year. Warren Harris likes to make suggestions. In fact, Harris, who works for the state Department of Parks and Recreation, has made many suggestions under the state's Merit Awards Program. That's the program that gives cash grants to state employees who make suggestions eventually adopted by the state. Harris says he's had 50 such ideas adopted. His bosses at Parks and Rec weren't amused, however, and this past May tried to reprimand him; Harris claims for hanging around the suggestion box. Parks and Rec claimed the reprimand was issued because Harris continued to lobby for some suggestions that had been turned down by the program. Harris appealed the reprimand to the State Personnel Board, which notified him by form letter how the hearing would be handled. Wouldn't you know it? Harris found that the form letter failed to provide disabled-accessibility information, as required by law. So, he filed yet another suggestion, which was adopted. Harris scored again when the Parks and Rec reprimand was withdrawn.

Time-warp journalism, as prac-

ticed by *USA Today*, surfaced recently in the state Capitol as a host of reporters from Gannett's national daily interviewed Governor George Deukmejian. In a manner typical of *USA Today*'s in-depth style of reporting, many of the questions concerned movie stars, California girls and earthquakes. When asked about the state's "world famous" lifestyle, the governor talked about mountains, deserts and coastlines. But reporter Dan Greaney, 22, had something else in mind: "We wanted him to talk about holistic medicine, meditation and granola. But he didn't take the bait." Could Greaney have been thinking of a previous California governor?

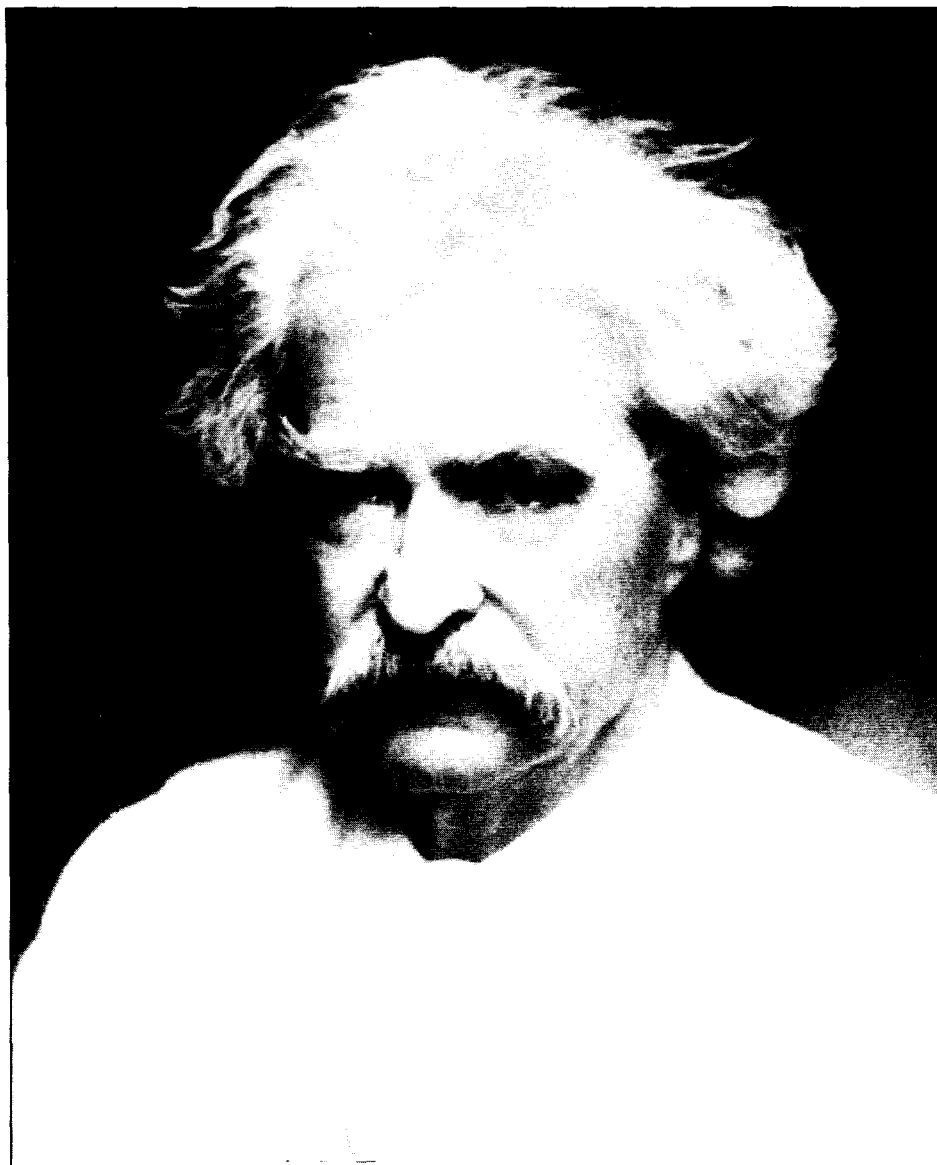
(Steve Swatt, Sacramento)

Stupid pet tricks. Monterey's Democratic Assemblyman Sam Farr has introduced a bill that would create a "pension fund" for retired show-business animals.

Who dropped out? In last month's *Journal*, we said that Richard Katz "hung on," and decided to continue with his first Assembly race despite advice from then-Assemblymen Leo McCarthy and Howard Berman (who at the time were dueling for leadership of the Assembly) that he drop out in favor of former Assemblyman Jim Keysor. Well, Keysor writes to say that he was the one who dropped out at the request of Berman, McCarthy and labor. "They felt I could beat Katz in the primary, but that Katz, 'a new face,' would have a better chance in the general election. They were right," Keysor said.

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. We pay up to \$25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front," so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.

"The qualities that get a man into power are not those that lead him, once established, to use power wisely."
— Lyman Bryson



"Never get into an argument with people who buy their ink by the barrel."

Mark Twain

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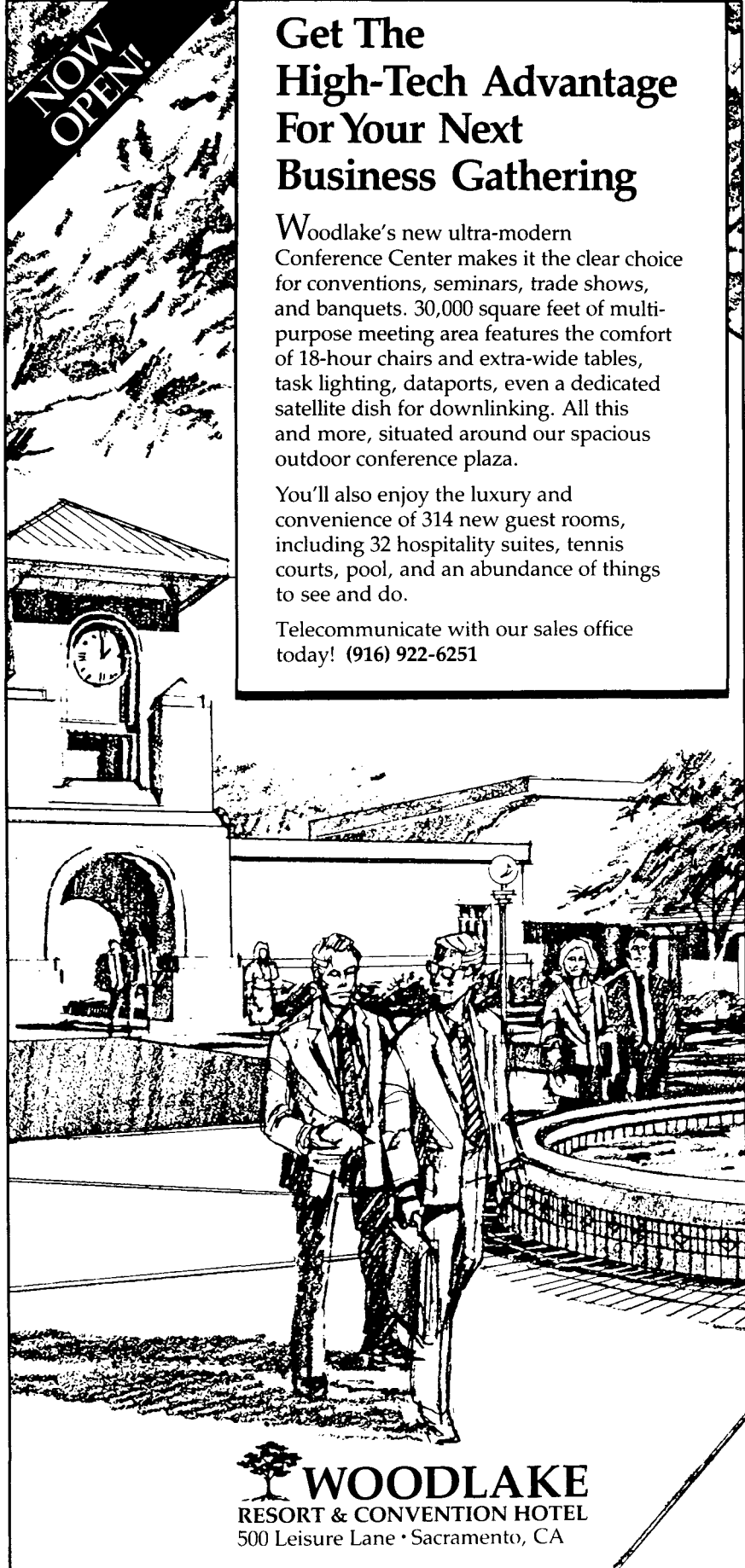
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ROSTRUM

Teacher unions

California Journal is correct to recognize that, while the American labor movement is in a period of transition, it remains a major political force. The *Journal* is also correct to conclude that the California Teachers Association is a powerful force on behalf of public education, students and teachers (see "Teacher unions," *CJ*, July 1987). But the article is less accurate in implying that CTA's commitment to fight for what we believe is right makes us "obstructionist" and anti-progressive.

The CTA has championed educational excellence and high standards since our founding in 1863. Look at virtually any legislation over the past century meant to help raise educational standards and you will find CTA as a sponsor or as a prime mover. For instance, CTA pushed for the first state-wide teacher-certification standards and resisted attempts by management groups to water down standards when a teacher shortage took shape in the 1950s and early '60s.

That commitment to standards remains strong today, despite contrary assertions by the *Journal's* unnamed sources. In fact, the "obstructionist" label reflects our unwillingness to allow "political considerations" to steer us away from the course we believe is right. There are plenty of "trendy" solutions to the challenges facing our public-school system, among them peer review and the collegial model. But these easy answers won't get the job done.

Our public-education system needs adequate funding to raise our state from its shameful 50th ranking in class size. We can no longer countenance cramming more children into every classroom. Experts say that reducing class size would do more to increase students' academic performance than any other change in our educational system. In per-pupil spending, we should not emulate states with poorer resources than we have here in California, and should reach the financial commitment found in other industrial states like New York and Connecticut. That requires as much as \$2000 more per student, per year. At the same time we need to implement reforms recommended by state and national blue-ribbon panels, such as raising entry requirements for teachers and eliminating laws that allow less-than-fully-qualified persons

to teach with "emergency credentials."

California must also address the looming teacher shortage; to attract and keep qualified professionals, the state must give teachers more responsibility for their profession and more say in the educational process at the school site.

On the financial side, school districts must establish more accountability for the way they will use funding increases. CTA advocates that the money should go directly into the instructional programs which will benefit our students. From our inception 125 years ago, CTA has led the fight to make our public-school system the nation's best. We will continue our efforts until that goal is achieved.

ED FOGLIA
President
California Teachers Association
Sacramento

In July you ran an interesting article regarding merger conversations between the California Teachers' Association (CTA) and the California Federation of Teachers (CFT) (see "Teacher unions," *CJ*, July 1987). The CTA president, Ed Foglia, was quoted as saying, "Administrators and school boards don't care about good teachers. They don't give a damn about the quality of education."

The Association of California School Administrators and the CTA leadership have been holding about three meetings per year for the last two-and-one-half years to identify and resolve mutual concerns. From those meetings we have become accustomed to Mr. Foglia's tendency to mix fact with union rhetoric.

Administrators and school boards care passionately about the quality of education. We know that excellent schools have both excellent teachers and excellent administrators. What management and unions disagree about is the allocation of scarce resources. Teachers' unions want low class sizes, high salaries and minimal non-instructional assignments. Management wants that, too; but management must also allocate resources for transportation, maintenance, and the many educational programs.

Management believes the current discussion about teaching becoming a profession to be an important one. Management does not believe a profession can also be a union, or be a profession and continue to utilize union tactics. Management believes that teachers, administrators and school boards must utilize non-adversarial approaches in resolving common educational

challenges. Management believes that the parents and citizens want and expect that.

JACK WEINSTEIN
President
Association of California
School Administrators
Sacramento

The speaker

Speaker Willie Brown's response (see "Rostrum," *CJ*, July 1987) failed to mention the huge amounts of money it takes to "create an environment." Some of that money comes from lobbying groups and special interests such as the California State Employees Association. All state employees are required to pay either union dues or "fair share" — \$1.00 less per month. Speaker Brown gets a comfortable portion of those collected monies. Of course, CSEA is required by law to reimburse employees for any monies spent for ideological purposes. For an annual union fee deduction of \$250 you can get as much as \$10 back. Great bookkeeping.

JOAN BRANDLI
Burbank

Black power

Many Black Californians took strong exception to the findings and conclusions in *California Journal's* May cover story, "Is Black Power Fading?" For over a decade Black leadership has been prominent in the largest California cities, in many other municipalities and on educational boards. We have maintained our elected seats in the Assembly and state Senate and amassed enormous power. All of the state's Black legislators chair important committees.

Willie Brown Jr., the speaker of the Assembly, is purported to be the second most powerful person in the state. He is the steward for every piece of legislation and a decisive factor in every electoral district. Most successful Democrats run with his blessing. Most Republicans run against him. The Reverend Jesse Jackson is setting this country's political agenda and has almost as much influence around the world as does the president. Members of California's Black congressional delegation are national leaders. In what area is Black power fading?

Youth aspiring to step into the shoes of our leaders is a compliment and in no way diminishes our base. We must have individuals ready and willing to serve. Victory by a younger person strengthens the Black base and ensures our future. It is evolutionary and necessary for young men and women to challenge incumbent Blacks and Whites.

The article's primary test of Black

political power was a numbers' game — the assertion that increases in other minority populations, particularly of Latinos and Asians, automatically decreases Black political power. One need only reflect on the way minority White South Africans dominate the vast number of Black South Africans to realize there is more to power than numbers.

We cannot fall into the trap of measuring Black political power by a head count of Black politicians. This approach runs counter to the notion of real political power. What about the influence Black Californians have on Anglo politicians? The degree to which Black concerns are on the state's political agenda is an important indicator of Black political power.

The development of this "numbers theory" fails because it lumps groups together and makes projections without regard to the diversity and differences among those groups. The conclusions were based upon gross aggregates such as a major decline in the Anglo population, stabilization of the Black population and increases among Latinos and Asians.

But Latinos and Asians are not monolithic groups, the dynamics of this diversity should have been factors in the analysis. Had ethnic diversity been taken into account, the *Journal* may have concluded that minorities are small, autonomous groups that may achieve political dominance through unity if we do not acquiesce to the divide-and-conquer theory emanating from those who fear our collective strength.

Why is Black political power so heavily on the minds of the media? Tom Bradley's leadership is being undermined daily by the *Los Angeles Times*. *Sacramento Bee* columnist Dan Walters writes often about the speaker's fading power. Black elected officials in Atlanta, Washington (D.C.) and Pennsylvania are under media investigation. The media refuses to treat Jesse Jackson with the dignity he deserves as the nation's front runner for the presidency. An analysis of media coverage might reveal an organized program to weaken our political base. That is a national plot to cut our leaders down.

Since true political power defies measure, it could be that Blacks are becoming too powerful and their staying power too strong, causing conservatives to declare war on them, with the media as the selected battleground.

ALICE HUFFMAN
Chairwoman

Black American Political Association of
Sacramento





CALIFORNIA FARMS

Better times ahead?

By **LINDA Di PIETRO**

Rolling across the fertile fields of California's Central Valley this year is something absent for more than half a decade: a murmur of optimism.

The valley is the engine that drives the \$13.8 billion California agricultural machine, a once-indomitable sector of the Golden State's economy. In the past few years it has only lurched along, belching out of its system thousands of marginal growers and many stronger ones who were guilty only of choosing the wrong time to expand.

But projections for 1987 are punctuating this five-year litany of lost markets and economic ruin with the first faintly positive signs for many of the state's farmers.

"I hear growers talk about making some money rather than how they'll survive," says Kirby Moulton, an economist for the University of California Cooperative Extension. "And I haven't heard that in many, many years."

Yet what no one knows for sure is whether an expected turnaround for California agriculture during 1987 will start a trend or just end up as a cruel, ephemeral blip on a chart of overwhelming despair.

About one thing the experts are certain: For some, a recovery as moderate as the one expected will be too little, too late. Lingering agricultural woes again will plow under large numbers of farmers who can no longer find the resources to survive a calamity that, depending upon whom you talk to, has claimed between 15 and 25 percent of the state's estimated 50,000 commercial growers over the last few years.

Listen to Tracy grower Jim Edwards, and he tells what amounts to much more than a story of personal misfortune. It is really a trenchant description of the sort of historic shift

Linda Di Pietro is a staff writer for the Modesto Bee.



Tracy farmer Jim Edwards

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

that's brought with it gloom and doom, not only for Edwards and many of his neighbors, but for farming colleagues across the country. Indeed, the plight of these growers is not unlike that of workers and managers from across the American business landscape, who've become like jobless refugees in the rapidly changing global economy.

"We used to grow baby lima beans out here and sell them to Japan," says Edwards, eyeing a portion of his 1000-acre farm.

"The Japanese grind these beans up and make a paste. They sweeten it and it's a base for a lot of things. But now the Japanese are buying beans from Burma at a cheaper price. Not baby limas, but they work just the same. Six or seven years ago we got 28 to 30 cents per pound. Last year we got 16 cents. This year it's back to 20, but it's still below the cost of production."

Edwards says he's lost money over the past few years because he kept planting beans, counting on a turnaround. He waited eight months before selling last year's crop, hoping for the price to rise.

"I stored 3000 bags of beans that we harvested last September, waiting for something to happen, but it never really did. We finally sold them at 19 cents."

Change beans to almonds, almonds to rice, rice to cotton. Edwards' lament is one the state's exporting growers have echoed to varying degrees since 1981. About 22 percent of all California agriculture production is sold on world markets. In this more competitive environment, farmers saw markets for all of those crops erode during the period. Meanwhile, growers of grapes, processing tomatoes, broccoli and peaches were nearly swamped by a flood of imports produced at less cost elsewhere. No mystery surrounded this particular dilemma.

The value of the U.S. dollar skyrocketed, and suddenly goods produced here became more expensive to foreign buyers. The California Department of Agriculture says exports plummeted from a peak of \$4.2 billion in 1981 to \$2.9 billion in 1984 and an estimated \$2.8 billion in 1986.

U.S. commodities have become more affordable with the dollar's decline. "From January to March of 1987 there have been increased shipments of wine, kiwi fruit and citrus. And cotton and almonds have turned around," says Ray Borton of the California Department of Food and Agriculture. Yet nobody is willing to predict how many markets ultimately will be reclaimed.

Not enough to avert disaster for still more growers, most think. Anti-poverty forces and those with a broader social view may hail the advances in technology and knowledge that made producer nations out of poor countries once dependent on others for food.

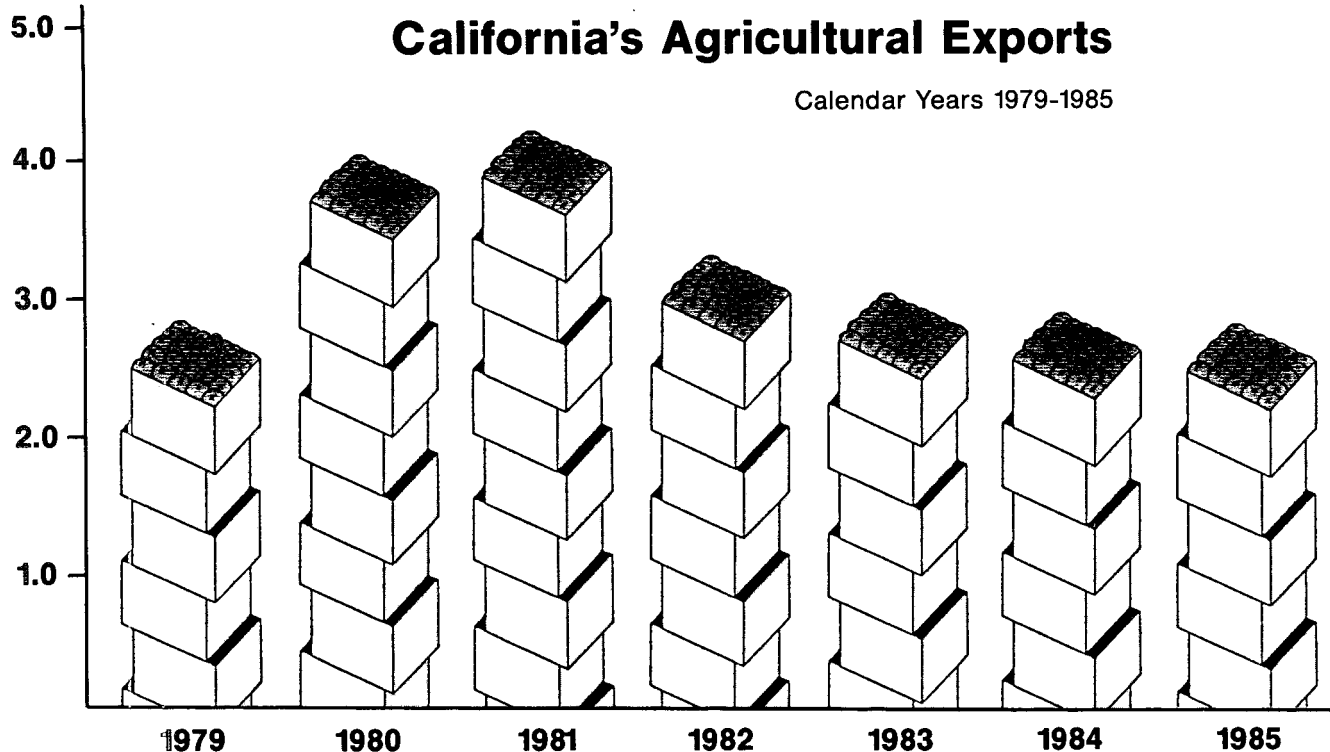
What U.S. farmers know is that they've been hurt by this emerging self-reliance.

California agriculture is truly mind-boggling in its diversity. In the pan-flat Central Valley, the land unfolds in a nearly seamless expanse here, in a colorful patch-work of symmetrical patterns there, in streamlined rows beyond. Tall trees about squat bushes bordering serpentine vines, an almost magical display of nature's largess.

That very abundance was supposed to protect the state from the disaster that struck other parts of the country. It didn't. And there are those who say it won't be enough to avert serious problems in the years ahead.

For the near term, though, a note of optimism is being sounded. Triggered by the dollar's drop, the experts say this eagerly-awaited turnaround is being shaped by relatively stable interest rates and the fact that the supply-demand situa-

Billion dollars



Source: California Department of Food and Agriculture

tion for most California crops is, for the first time in a long time, in balance.

The rapid rise in interest rates combined with plunging commodity prices stung thousands of farmers over the past five years, driving many out of business. These twin demons dissolved the net income of many growers, as those with big outstanding loans were unable to come up with the cash when the payments came due.

The key element in this recipe for disaster is interest rates. And they have been dropping in recent years. In many cases, however, commodity prices have continued to drop. Survival, for a good many farmers, still depends on how quickly that changes.

Henry Voss heads the California Farm Bureau Federation, an organization some feel was slow to acknowledge the extent of the downturn. Yet even he concedes "perhaps as many growers this year as last" will either quit the business or end up in bankruptcy proceedings.

"I'm optimistic generally," says Voss of 1987. "I don't think it's going to be the greatest year for California agriculture, but it will be better than the last four to five years. The best thing is I think it will continue for two to three years, but I won't predict beyond three years."

Fueling Voss' optimism are a number of developments. California growers, mostly in the Southern San Joaquin Valley, plant more than one million acres of cotton, and what happens to cotton has ramifications for growers of fruit crops far afield.

"Prices are up from 40 cents to about 65 cents per pound, and that should be a margin for cotton growers. But the big thing is when there's no margin, they plant the acreage in something like melons or other produce, and that causes a surplus in those crops."

In any year, there can be as much as a 100,000-acre

change-over from cotton to some other crop, says Voss. "While that's not significant in cotton, if just 10 percent of that is planted in something like canning tomatoes or melons, it has a huge impact."

Jim Edwards, the Tracy farmer, agrees.

"Last year, we were hurt because a lot of people hadn't planted cotton, and they ended up harvesting beans. I don't think they're going to be planting beans down south this year."

And could it be that all those Cybill Shepherd television ads, in which the actress extols the virtues of eating beef, are doing the trick?

Whatever the source, almost all the experts were surprised by the turnaround in beef prices this year, says Voss. "It's really beyond most people's expectations. Certainly the herd reduction was the cause of part of it but there's also a little bit more demand. Nobody really knows why."

One Modoc County rancher sold some cattle off his range for 71 cents per pound in June. "That's the most I've heard yet," says Voss. "One year ago they were getting 42 cents, and the average today is about 67 cents."

Certainly, prices for several California commodities have posted strong gains from 1985 to 1986, according to the California Crop and Livestock Reporting Service. Bolstered by worldwide crop shortages, the price for almonds rose from 68 cents per pound to \$2.20, just in time for some hard-pressed growers. Prunes were up from \$650 per ton to \$800, raisins from \$500 to \$650, and wine grapes from \$65 to \$95.

Price levels for others either remained about the same or rose slightly, including cotton which climbed from 57 cents to 65 cents per pound. Rice farmers will make a modest profit, thanks to government price supports.

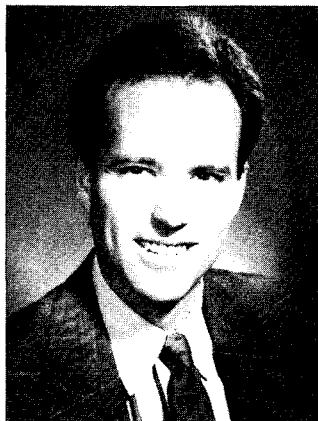
For alfalfa growers and processing-tomato farmers, the story is different. The price for alfalfa dropped \$10 per ton for

the period, while tomatoes were off \$3 per ton.

The clearest indicator of whether there is a real turnaround will be seen in how quickly land prices can recover from agriculture's depression. Between 1981 and 1986, the worst years of the slump, the state's farmers saw a stunning slide in the value of their land. A Bank of America report says vineyard property in the San Joaquin Valley dropped from \$10,725 per acre in 1981 to \$3928 per acre last year, off a whopping 63 percent. The value of almond land fell 56 percent, other tree crops 17 percent, and San Joaquin Valley



Moulton



Cannon

row-crop land values were off 26 percent.

Frederick Cannon, senior economist for Bank of America, in a just-completed report, says there are increasing numbers of buyers for some types of good farmland. "During the past six months, the value of top quality orchards and vineyards has appreciated, and prices for most premium field crop acreage have remained stable."

However, Cannon called the market for marginal field crop ground and pasture land "almost nonexistent."

The farm depression reached into every level of the industry. The recovery won't be nearly as widespread, say Cannon and other economists.

"A significant share of the industry will continue to face declining markets. A large number of agricultural producers, merchants and processors, however, will become profitable and expand their operations during the remainder of the decade," he concludes.

State banks were stung to a degree nobody predicted. Bank of America, still the nation's biggest lender with \$1.1 billion in commercial agriculture loans outstanding, wrote off \$77 million in bad farm loans in 1984 and \$220 million over the following two years. Other major banks in the state, in addition to the Farm Credit System, also had huge losses. Angry farmers complained bitterly that their lenders convinced them to expand during the heady days of the late 1970s, when land values were climbing, only to pull the rug out from under them later. Growing numbers are filing suit in retaliation. One, Monterey County farmer Garth Conlan, won a \$60 million judgment against Wells Fargo in June.

The banks are apparently heeding this lesson, and many are now reducing the amount they're willing to loan farmers. Bank of America, for example, has cut back its outstanding farm loans by 41 percent, Wells Fargo by 32 percent and First Interstate Bank by 25 percent, according to Cannon's report.

Over the long haul, the prospects for California agriculture don't seem as bright as they did in the complacent days before the recent calamity, when the industry seemed immune to the forces that regularly ravaged farm centers in the Midwest.

"There are some very serious concerns about the state's competitive position," says Kirby Moulton, an economist from the University of California. Moulton cites competition from places like Mexico, Brazil, Chile and parts of Asia; and from places like China which once imported U.S. cotton but now exports its own surplus.

The political reality surrounding the once-powerful industry is fraught with hazards. There's increasing pressure to control the use of toxics, and the continuing effort to divert water from the valley to Southern California's thirsty population.

"The industry has to be concerned about the impact of Proposition 65, about the immigration act and potential revisions in water prices, all of which could increase production prices and result in a shift in what we produce and how much," says Moulton.

On a hot June afternoon, Jim Edwards and Paul Rinauro, a 76-year-old Tracy cherry and apricot grower, took refuge from the relentless sun inside a roadside cafe where the town's farmers meet once a day. Rinauro complained bitterly about the new immigration law, which he says is already responsible for a critical shortage of laborers.

"We can't find enough people to do the job. People don't want to come into the country because they're confused by the law and they're scared. It's going to end up costing us more. It's not good."

It's not good, if you're a grower who needs cheap labor. Some observers point out that the situation Rinauro describes affords the best chance in years for farm labor organizers like Cesar Chavez to make headway where they've been unsuccessful in the past. And they also deny that there is a labor shortage — at least for growers who are willing to pay reasonable wages. If new labor drives are successful, says Rinauro, shaking his head adamantly, "That would be all we need. We can't compete now." Federal officials have responded to pressure from growers and eased up on immigration requirements for temporary field workers.

The task facing California growers may be to stop trying to compete, at least in crops that are becoming popular with farmers in emerging countries, some experts contend.

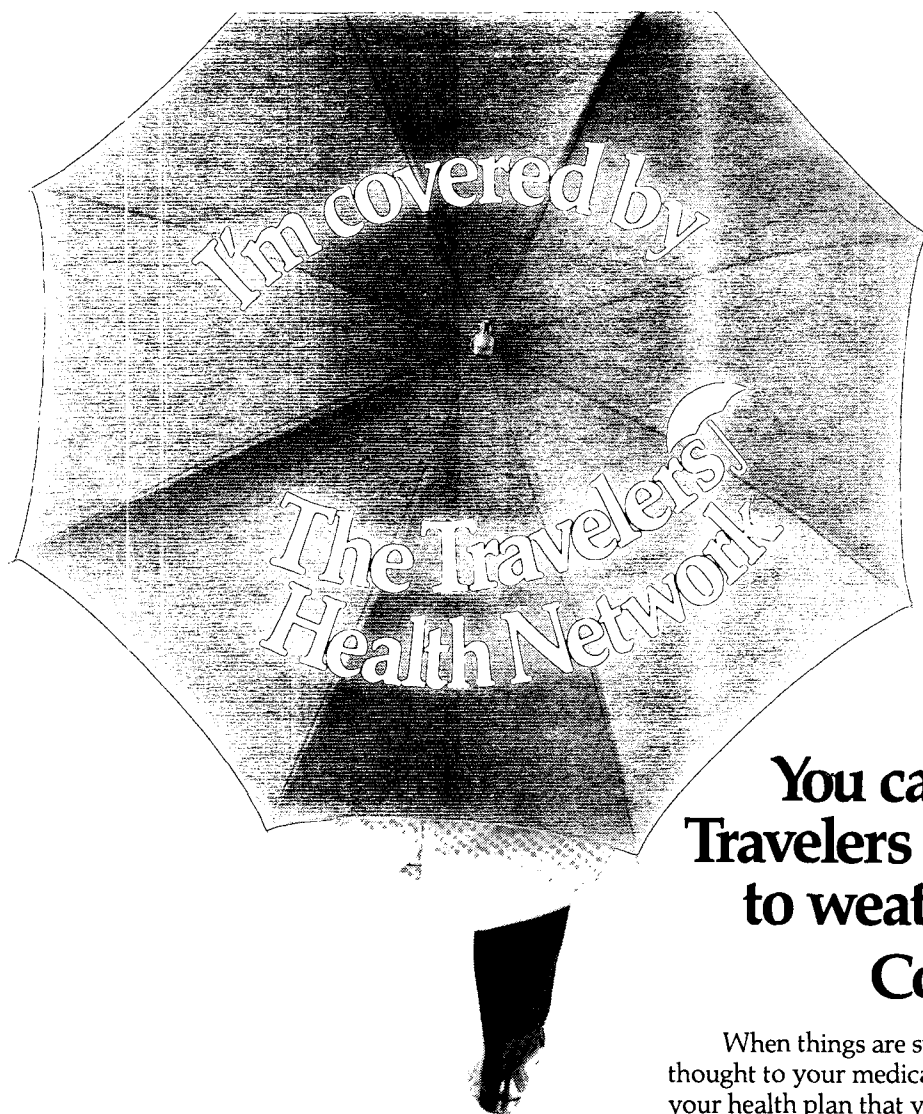
It's estimated that 30 percent of the state's 650 processing-tomato growers either filed for bankruptcy or went out of the business in recent years, and industry observers say their problems reflect what's ailing the industry in general.

Overproduction, thanks to revolutionary advances in agricultural technology, swept many out of the business. A surge of imports also contributed to the problems. Twice as many tomatoes or tomato products were imported between 1981 and 1983 than the previous seven years. Growers complain that much of this influx comes from countries where the industry is subsidized, like Greece, Turkey, Portugal and Italy. Last year Larry Taber, president of the California League of Food Processors, said about 20,000 processing industry jobs have simply disappeared in the last 12 years.

David Zollinger, executive vice president of the California Tomato Growers Association, is one of those who believes his industry will survive, despite its problems.

If there is any consensus, it is that old fashioned U. S. ingenuity is required if California agriculture is to prevail in the difficult years ahead.

"We shouldn't just throw up our hands and say we're doomed, but we probably will have to change," says Moulton. "What we want is a different playing field, a product of different quality or packaging, or one sold with a different sort of services. The essential requirement is to be creative about production and marketing strategies." 🏠



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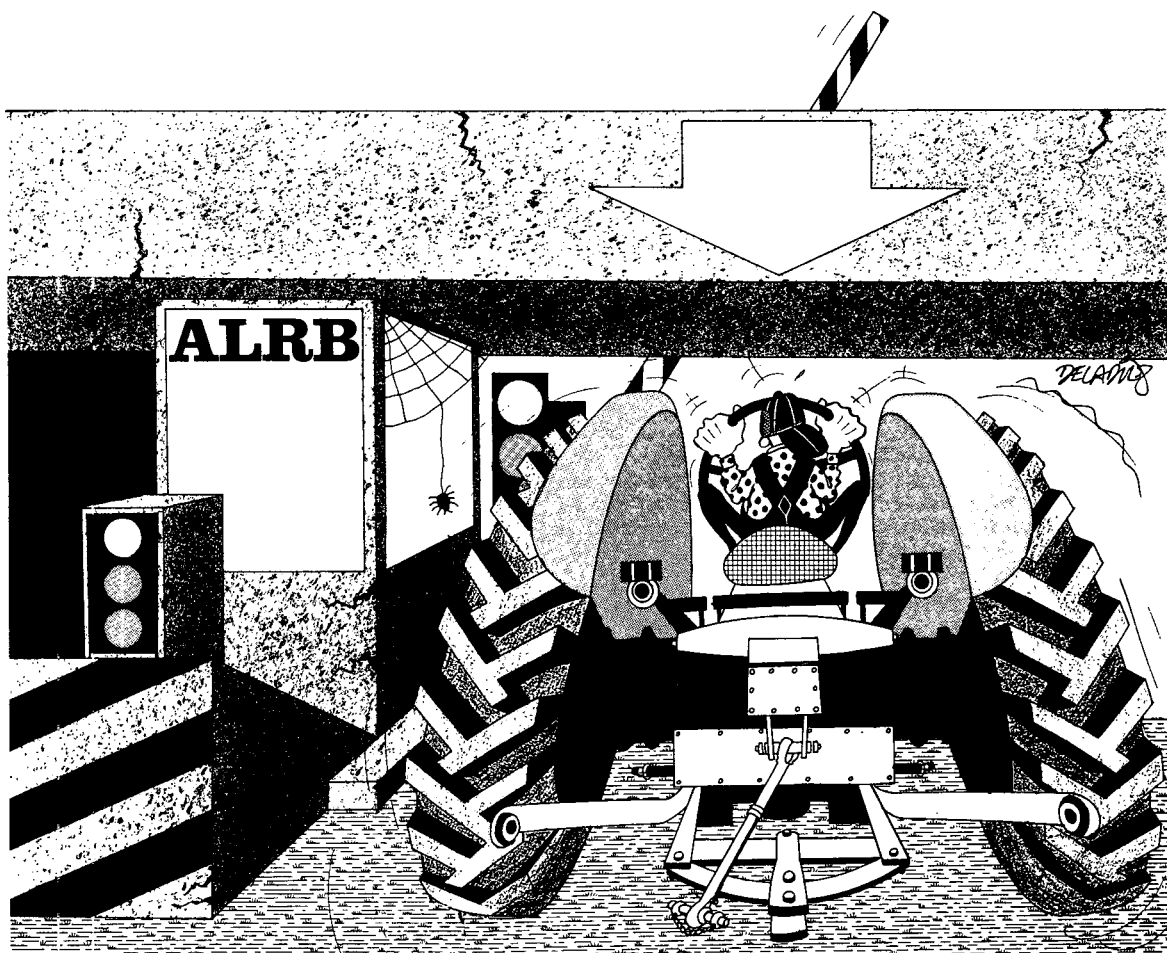
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DUKE'S ALRB:

The farmer's friend

By JENNIFER SCHOLZ

When the California Legislature enacted the Agricultural Labor Relations Act in 1975, legislators, farmers and labor organizers all considered it a minor miracle. Growers and laborers had clashed, often violently, for years over how to regulate their relations, and few thought that former Governor Jerry Brown could create detente in the fields.

In fact, the truce was short-lived, lasting only until the new Agricultural Labor Relations Board began to interpret and enforce the new law. Growers believe the peace ended because "the governor betrayed (them)" by stacking the board with pro-union members, said Roy Gabriel, lobbyist for the California Farm Bureau Federation. The farm workers, represented primarily by the United Farm Workers Union, found in the board an ally which handed down numerous rulings that helped the union to organize farm workers.

But times have changed. Now the board is dominated by appointees of Governor George Deukmejian. This time it is the farm workers who believe the board has turned against

them. Although both factions at times have denounced the content of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act since it went into effect, the law itself has not changed. But which faction supports it, has changed.

The law gave farm workers secret ballot elections, restricted unions' use of secondary boycotts by allowing the boycotts only when unions are negotiating with growers, and established a five-member board which would oversee elections and settle unfair labor charges. Enforcement of the act is divided between the board and the general counsel. The general counsel is the "gate keeper" of the agency, the person who decides what charges are legitimate and will come before the board for settlement.

From the beginning, farmers have disagreed with a number of board rulings, including: the "access" rule, which allowed union organizers onto a farmer's property to organize workers; the "make-whole" rule, which says farmers must give workers back wages if they stalled unfairly before reaching a labor agreement; and the "good standing" rule, which permits the union to require contributions to political funds or charities in order for a worker to remain a union member. The latter rule provides money to fuel the farm workers' polit-

Jennifer Scholz, a recent University of California, Davis, graduate, is an intern with the California Journal.

ical coffers.

In early 1979 simmering discontent among growers resulted in a series of bills to amend the act and pattern it more closely after the National Labor Relations Act. Growers tried to eliminate the act's "good standing" and "make whole" clauses. Bills passed twice, only to be vetoed by former Governor Brown. However, what growers failed to do through the legislative process, they accomplished at the ballot box with the election of Governor George Deukmejian who was heavily backed by agricultural interests.

In the first month of his first term, Deukmejian appointed a new general counsel, former Assemblyman David Stirling, and by 1986 the Republican governor's appointees dominated the board as well. The new combination is much more hostile to union complaints and receptive to the pleas of growers.



Stirling



Huerta

Stirling is the cause of some of the loudest protests by farm workers. As soon as he was appointed, he came into conflict with what was then still a Brown-majority board. Within a year of his appointment, the governor cut the board's budget by 30 percent. Staff was reduced, the number of cases settled by the board decreased, and the backlog of unresolved cases increased significantly. Meanwhile, the governor added more than \$2 million to the Department of Food and Agriculture budget for programs sought by growers. By 1984 four of the board's regional representatives quit because of conflicts with Stirling. By the end of July, 42 of 107 staff members had left.

Frustrated with the lack of enforcement, the UFW in July 1984 renewed a grape boycott to make known the need for fair elections and fair bargaining, and to protest the use of pesticides in the fields. "Under Deukmejian, (the law) doesn't work anymore," UFW founder Cesar Chavez complained in a newspaper article.

"The law has not worked since Deukmejian has been in office," added Dolores Huerta, vice president of the UFW. Lack of enforcement is particularly hard on farm workers, she adds, because they have few other laws to protect them.

Despite union complaints, Deukmejian continued to consolidate his control of the board and, in October 1985, newspapers even reported that Stirling was heading an anti-boycott campaign aimed at the UFW — a charge that Stirling disputes. In January 1986 the governor replaced ALRB member Jerome Waldie with Gregory L. Gonot, giving his appointees a board majority. Two months later the UFW struck back by having its supporters in the Legislature threaten funding for the ALRB.

UFW's political director, Roberto de la Cruz, said that under the ALRB's current policy, the board has become a "tool to oppress the workers," primarily because the workers do not feel protected by a board which will not listen to their charges.

Stirling said he has made a number of changes in the procedures — which he says were required by law — that are now followed when complaints are filed. For instance, he has required that all workers provide specific written information to back their charges before the charges are investigated. In the past, complaints were investigated without this evidence. Most of the time, when asked for proof, workers do not follow through, Stirling maintains. The counsel also tries to save time, money, and emotional hassle by settling complaints before they reach the board. The UFW agrees with neither of these policies, he says.

Stirling believes the board now is "unbiased," "balanced" and "professional," and he believes it operated unfairly against growers in the past.

"Anytime the law benefits farm workers, agribusiness thinks (there is) bias," says Waldie, who disputes Stirling and grower charges of past unfairness. If the ALRB appeared to have a heavy bias towards farm workers, it is because the act itself essentially benefits the workers by upholding their rights, encouraging them to organize and to participate in collective bargaining, Waldie says. Under the current general counsel's direction, though, the law punishes workers because the counsel does not follow through on complaints.

"You know it's a cold day in hell when the growers say, 'We like the ALRA because our employees need it.' The growers are using (the law) to weaken their employees' rights," says Waldie. Currently, the ALRA does not even come close to fulfilling the promises it gives workers, he says; but it could if "we get rid of Stirling."

Patrick Henning, the only remaining member of the board appointed by Brown, feels the current board members "are living up to their oath of office," favoring neither workers nor growers. Workers apparently don't agree. They are filing far fewer complaints with the board. Henning says this is tragic. "The law has proven to be a mediation force between employers and workers. It is a just law, a fair law. It's not up to us to change it," he says.

Even though growers are happier these days with the Deukmejian's version of the labor laws, they are reluctant to give up their long-standing complaints. Barbara Buck, Western Growers Association director of labor relations, says they still do not agree with the "good standing" and "make whole" clauses of the labor-relations act.

Roy Gabriel of the California Farm Bureau Federation agrees with Buck that the ALRB is more objective under the jurisdiction of Deukmejian appointees and that the law is "fundamentally flawed" by such segments as the "access rule," and the "make whole remedy." But the Farm Bureau has diverted its attention from the ALRB in the past few years to more pressing matters such as the immigration amnesty law — trying to get government officials to take into account the seasonality and transience of the work force, since over half of California's farm workers are undocumented.

As a result of this grower satisfaction, state lawmakers have virtually stopped offering bills on growers' behalf to change the act. Since Deukmejian appointed Stirling, the board has been much more "balanced," and growers have been satisfied, so there is little need to amend the law, noted Republican state Senator Jim Nielsen of Rohnert Park.

The United Farm Workers, too, has turned its attention away from the Legislature, concentrating instead on its grape

boycott. It has, at least for now, given up attempts to block the ALRB's budget.

The United Farm Workers may, in fact, be somewhat the victims of its own success. Wages and working conditions are generally better than they were at the height of the farm-worker movement in the '60s and '70s, and the new immigration laws may be keeping down the supply of inexpensive foreign labor, which also forces up farm wages. Farmers are now complaining loudly that they can't find enough qualified laborers, although worker groups deny this is so.

Despite complaints by union officials and the revival of the grape boycott, there has been no return of the violent disputes that characterized farmer-labor relations before the passage of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act. The boycott itself seems to have had little impact on growers or the consuming public.

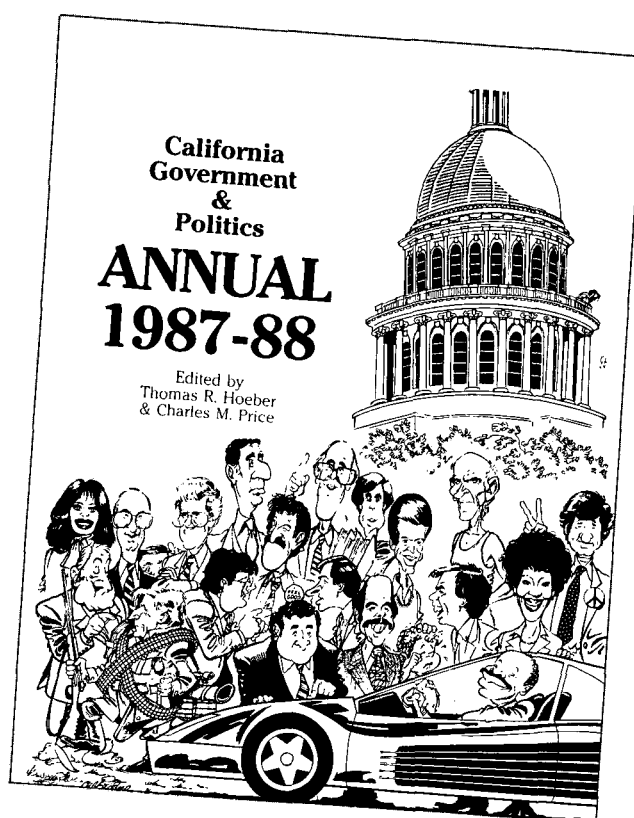
The United Farm Workers may also be suffering from changing times. The decade of the 1980s is a less-activist decade than the years when Chavez and his union was on the rise. These changing times may make it difficult for Chavez' union to find its way. The UFW, after all, is at its roots a social movement, a tradition that may be stronger than its desire to operate as a union.

Stirling cites as evidence these two facts: that there have been a number of successful elections to decertify the UFW as union representative; and that the union currently has few active contracts.

But Huerta says the union still speaks for farm workers. The workers "love us," she said.

In any case, so far the UFW has found no effective way to work around an ALRB dominated by Republicans, and Stirling believes that has resulted in "peace in the fields." 🏠

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California Government and Politics Annual

Thomas R. Hoeber and Charles M. Price

The brand-new-18th edition of *California Journal's California Government and Politics Annual* is now available. The **Annual** has become a standard resource book for college and university courses in state and local government. But it is also a valuable tool for individuals seeking an overview of the California

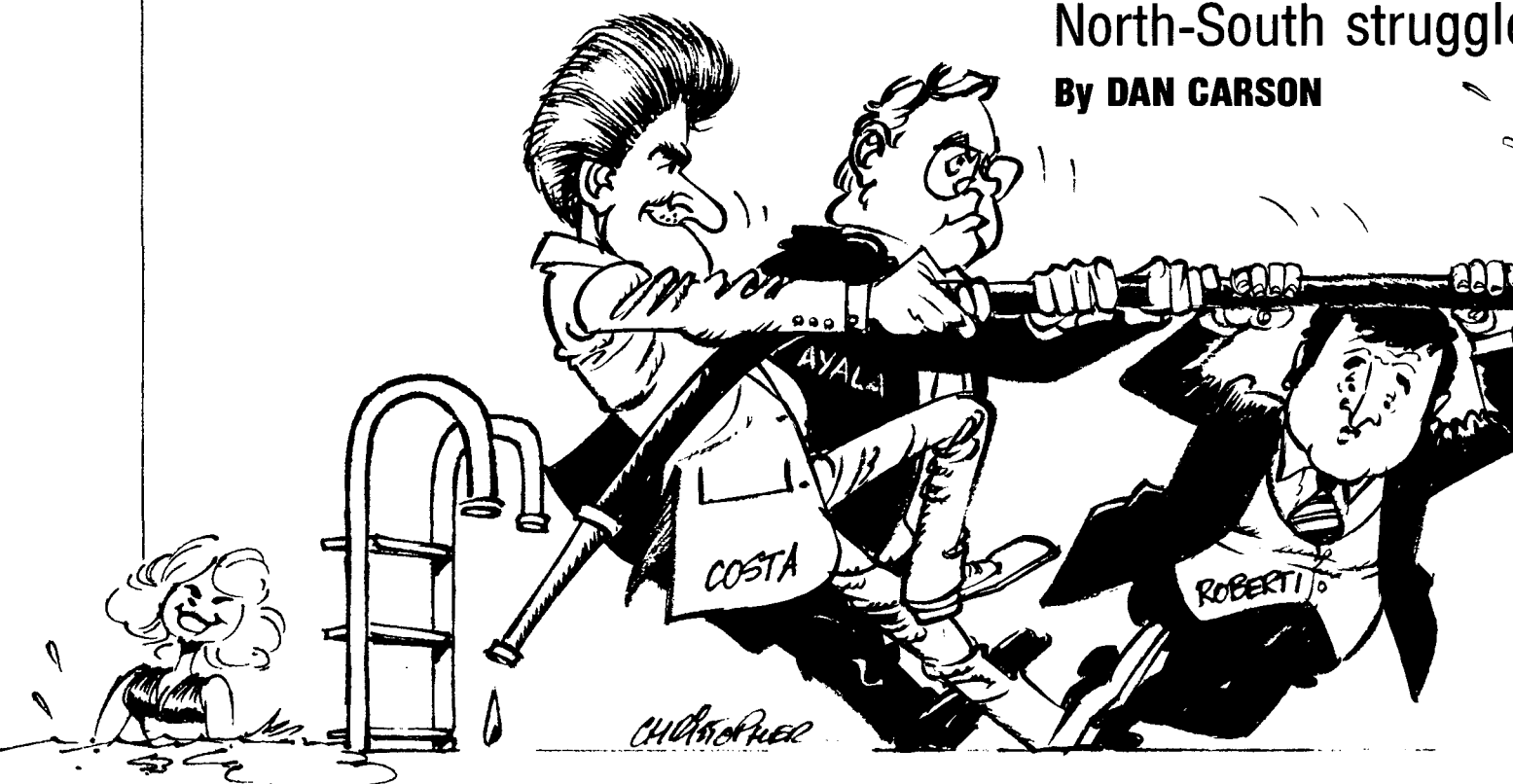
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WATER WARS '87

New bills revive
North-South struggle

By DAN CARSON



State and federal bureaucrats, looking and sounding a bit nervous, sat in the front of a meeting room at the Tracy Inn and outlined their plans for building a series of improvements in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta.

Characterizing their proposals as efforts to "solve water supply problems in the South Delta," they solicited comments and reaction from the score of Tracy residents seated in the audience, promising that the concerns expressed would be addressed in a forthcoming environmental study.

It wasn't long before the officials had a taker — Del Hansen, a lanky, deep-tanned harbor master who for 40 years has lived a mile and a half from the massive pumps that suck up to 6400 cubic feet of water per second and send it coarsing down the California Aqueduct.

"You guys are talking about bigger harbors and bigger pumps. But the ones you've built have destroyed the Delta,"

Dan Carson is Capitol bureau chief for the San Diego Union.

Hansen declared angrily.

Hansen's outburst was not really surprising. He and more than a few of his companions still openly display 40 years of deep-seated distrust of government officials who come to the Delta to talk about the commodity upon which their ways of life and businesses depend.

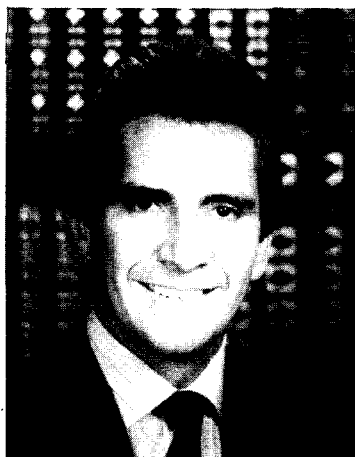
Former Governor Pat Brown boasts with obvious pride about how the State Water Project, started during his tenure, has set off an economic boom at the southern end of the California Aqueduct. But some Northerners are bitter about the degradation of water quality that has adversely affected the Delta and its fishing and agriculture industries. They blame the Department of Water Resources for breaking past promises and grow leery whenever talk surfaces of even greater southward water shipments.

Almost five years have passed since the statewide referendum on the ill-fated Peripheral Canal project plunged the state into water warfare over the proposed 43-mile channel to skirt the edge of the Delta and pump more Northern Califor-



nia water to the South. Nearly three years have gone by since George Deukmejian's bid for legislative approval of an alternative through-Delta water-transfer facility failed because of partisan and north-south bickering.

But, with each passing headline this year about the prospect of an imminent statewide drought, the momentum is growing again to try to increase southward water transfers. Southern California lawmakers, fearful of the day strict water rationing could disrupt the lifestyle and invoke the wrath of



Costa



Ayala

their constituents, seem to have decided now is the time to make their move.

Assemblyman Jim Costa of Fresno and state Senator Ruben Ayala of Chino, both Democrats, are promoting rival bills to create a major water transfer project for shipping hundreds of thousands of additional acre feet of water to the south. Those bills have been at the center of the water controversy during the current session of the Legislature. Ayala's SB 32, which has passed the Senate and is pending in the Assembly, would allow the governor to build the water transfer facility he determined best met the state's needs, including the controversial Peripheral Canal, and set a timetable for dams and agricultural canals that could cost billions of dollars. The Costa measure, AB 1710, which passed the Assembly and its first Senate committee before being put over until January 1988 to allow more negotiations, is less ambitious and, in its current form, explicitly does not authorize the canal.

The rapid progress of both measures had upset anti-water development forces, who contended they lacked needed environmental protections for the Delta and San Francisco Bay environment, and serious provisions to force Southern California and the Central Valley to conserve hundreds of thousands of acre feet of water they argue are wasted each year.

Legislators and environmentalists from the water-rich North are already beginning to mobilize for a possible 1988 referendum fight over the measures, as well as escalating the political rhetoric.

Although the water wars are back with a vengeance in 1987, they are proceeding without one notable combatant — George Deukmejian. In what seems like a strange move for a governor whose political roots are still deep in Southern California soil, the Deukmejian administration is not embracing either bill. In fact, it seems to be openly discouraging their passage, and administration officials have carefully left the door open for a possible veto. Director of Water Resources David Kennedy, for example, testified at one hearing that Ayala's measure to set a firm timetable for building dams and channels was premature and unnecessary.

Has Deukmejian decided to abandon his Southern California constituency? A closer look suggests Deukmejian has changed only his tactics, not his intentions. In fact, as evidenced by plans disclosed at that Tracy meeting, the governor is already using his executive powers to build the facilities needed to transfer an additional 200,000 acre feet of water (there are 325,872 gallons per acre-foot) a year south of the Delta. He is doing it piecemeal, with little fanfare, and in step with private negotiations that have defused objections from traditional water-development opponents.

The low-key, slow-motion approach of Deukmejian and Kennedy seems to have been working. On April 10th the state Department of Water Resources (DWR) began advertising for bids for four huge new pumps capable of shipping another 4000 cubic feet per second of water southward. They are expected to be installed within five years next to the existing seven pumps at the mouth of the California Aqueduct.

Dredging work has already occurred on one of the channels leading to the pumping plant at Tom Paine Slough. Such widening and deepening of channels helps solve local irrigation problems and also facilitates increased pumping southward.

DWR planners, meanwhile, have publicly confirmed they are already at work on hydraulic models and environmental studies for broadening several other South Delta channels and more than doubling the size of Clifton Court Forebay — all steps needed to increase water exports.

Perhaps most significantly, DWR already is preparing the paperwork and studies needed to secure a U.S. Army Corps of Engineers permit to allow increased water diversion into the Aqueduct. The existing permit allows DWR to use only 71 percent of the canal's total capacity.

Deukmejian apparently doesn't plan to study these ideas to death. The administration has pledged in writing to put forward a specific Delta plan, along with a draft environmental report to justify its approach, by April 1988. A final environmental report, and an official notice to build new Delta facilities, would likely come in early 1989 — coincidentally, after the next round of state elections.

In 1984 environmentalists railed against what they dubbed "Duke's Ditch." But in 1987 the administration has garnered glowing praise from that same quarter. At each step so far, Deukmejian has reached agreements with environmentalists, the fishing industry, Delta farmers and other interest groups to forestall lawsuits and controversy. For example, DWR is helping to enhance the wildlife habitat of the Suisun Marsh and has committed \$15 million to restoring Delta fisheries.

Gerald Meral, executive director of the Planning and Conservation League, told members of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee in June that "there is no real need" for the Costa or Ayala bills because the governor has followed "a reasoned approach" in proceeding slowly. "Let me assure you the administration is not doing nothing," said Meral.

But Ayala and Costa insist legislation is needed to ensure that the water bureaucracy does not become mired in lawsuits and studies and end up building nothing. The department has provided them fresh ammunition for their case in new estimates that, by the year 2010, California could have a shortfall of supply during dry periods of 3.2 million acre feet a year.

The positions of the Legislature's two top Democratic leaders suggest there is a chance that a major water-development bill will be enacted this session for the first time in seven years. Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, a Los Angeles Democrat, played a major role in 1984 in blocking

Deukmejian's water transfer plan. Despite his Southern California constituency, he even threatened to publicly campaign against the governor's water project if the bill were not amended to contain Northern California demands that massive water conservation projects precede any transfer of new supplies southward from the Delta.

Robert's 1984 attack on the governor's water plan was widely viewed by GOP senators as part of a Democratic strategy to embarrass Deukmejian and sabotage the governor's 1986 re-election bid. The idea was that the governor's bid for a second term might drown in a flood of anti-water development votes in Northern California.

Ayala had said he was so angry about Roberti's moves to defeat the water-development plan two years ago that he threatened to resign his chairmanship of the Senate Agriculture Committee. For his part, Roberti promised he would consult with Ayala before interfering with any water bill, Ayala said. "He's made that commitment and he's kept it," the senator added.

Thus, Roberti wholeheartedly supported Ayala's 1987 bill as it narrowly cleared the Senate on June 8th by a vote of 21 to 15. "I think he (Ayala) has gone a long way to try to alleviate many of the concerns of the people who have in the past stressed preservation of the Delta," declared Roberti in an interview.

"It's the political dynamic," an environmentalist source said, to explain Roberti's stance this year. "It was the governor's package before."

Roberti, however, disavows any political motivation and says he is supporting Ayala because the measures are more environmentally sound now.

Ayala has "gone a long way toward compromise," Roberti said. "I think some Northern legislators who look at this dispassionately, though they may not favor the bills, recognize that Senator Ayala is trying to compromise."

Specifically, Ayala has proposed placing into statute a recent state Supreme Court decision providing the strongest-yet legal guarantees that water diversions cannot come at the expense of the Delta environment.

On the Assembly side, Speaker Willie Brown voted against the Costa bill, reflecting the strong opposition among his San Francisco constituents to any water-development legislation. But while Brown worked to amend the bill to protect San Francisco Bay, he has not exercised his power as speaker to sidetrack the measure and in fact provided crucial help to get the bill out of committee. The speaker acceded to Costa's request to add a new member to the Assembly Water, Parks and Wildlife Committee, which Costa chairs.

Brown appointed Costa's personal choice — Republican Assemblyman Tom McClintock of Thousand Oaks, a supporter of water development. Predictably, McClintock turned out to be the key vote needed to advance Costa's water package from the committee, which had until then been evenly split in membership from the state's North and South.

Even before the committee action, GOP Assemblyman Chris Chandler of Yuba City declared the panel was "stacked against Northern California."

Brown, like Roberti, took a direct role in prior water controversies. He campaigned against the Peripheral Canal and demanded the governor's 1984 proposal be ratified by voters. But earlier this year, when 28 Northern California Assembly and Senate members issued a letter promising an all-out fight to halt water-transfer legislation, the speaker's name was missing from the list.

Brown's press secretary, Susan Jetton, said, "He's staying out of it. He just has other things on his mind, other



Aerial view of the Delta pumping plant at the head of the California Aqueduct. Photo by Robert Eplett, Department of Water Resources.

priorities, this year." Brown appointed a new member to the water committee simply because Costa asked him to, said Jetton. "It's not as a lot of people claimed — to stack the committee to build a Peripheral Canal," she said.

After taking a drubbing in a series of editorials by the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Brown finally became personally involved and offered an Assembly floor amendment barring construction of new water export facilities until the state Water Resources Control Board sets standards to protect the marine environment of San Francisco Bay. In doing so, the speaker lashed out, not at Costa, but at his hometown paper's criticism of him, saying he was obliged to give his appointed water committee chairman a chance to fashion a compromise approach.

The water issue has long put Brown in the difficult position of trying to satisfy two separate constituencies with diametrically opposite views. His home district in San Francisco voted heavily against the Peripheral Canal and is strongly anti-development. But pro-water development Southern

Californians make up a clear majority of the Assembly Democratic Caucus that keeps the speaker in power.

Barring a shift by Brown or Roberti, the votes probably exist to pass a water package. But it may end up containing some provisions objectionable to the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California and the State Water Contractors.

Ayala was forced to take an amendment setting a state goal of conserving one million acre feet of water a year by the year 2000. Likewise, Costa got unwanted language requiring any new project to "fully offset" environmental damage caused to fish and wildlife from increased water diversions. He also lost fights against Brown's amendment to protect San Francisco Bay and another backed by some Southern California legislators to allow the MWD to sell its surplus water to anyone at fair market prices. MWD now must ship it to Central Valley farmers at cheap rates.

But the amendments proved to be short-lived. In a controversial and highly unusual move, both Ayala and Costa stripped their bills of those provisions as soon as their legislative vehicles reached the opposite house. The amendments might surface again on the bargaining table when the bills are almost certainly sent to a two-house conference committee later in the session.

Still, the tactic of stripping them out employed by Costa and Ayala enraged many of their colleagues and eroded support for the bills. "We see it as a desperate act on the part of two authors to try and salvage something from a defeat," Democratic Assemblyman Tom Bates was quoted in the *Chronicle*. Bates, from Berkeley, is opposed to the bills.

Two other Southern California lawmakers — Republican Frank Hill of Whittier and Democrat Richard Katz of Sepulveda — warned Costa in a July 6th news conference

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that they would fight his bill unless the amendments were restored.

Central Valley farmers and southern water districts have not always seen eye-to-eye. Senator Art Torres, a Los Angeles Democrat, citing a recent Senate report, argues that the Ayala bill is a bad deal for urban dwellers who will get hit with most of the cost and get little of the water.

In July the battle over the amendments prompted Costa to call a "time out" and put over further consideration of AB 1710 until January, 1988. "Given the rhetoric that has surrounded my legislation in recent months, I have concluded that it would be counterproductive to proceed any further in the legislative process this year," he announced. The goal of a water compromise "can't be achieved in the current irrational atmosphere being fueled by media hype involving charges and countercharges," he stated.

But Costa said he wasn't throwing in the towel and would pursue the bill in January. Ayala, as of mid-July, said he intended to press ahead in hopes of getting his bill passed in 1987. Some Northern lawmakers are convinced the water fight will eventually have to be taken to the streets — through signature-gathering efforts to force the final bill to another referendum.

And then there is Deukmejian's role in the legislative process. The governor is known to be actively considering a try for a third term in 1990. If a bill comes to his desk without an "urgency" clause, thus barring a referendum, he faces a difficult choice affecting his own political future:

He could veto a bill he says he doesn't really need, possibly eroding his Southern California home base. Or he could sign it, infuriating Northerners like Delta harbor master Del Hansen and setting off a divisive referendum fight.

Nobody said dealing with the water issue was easy. 

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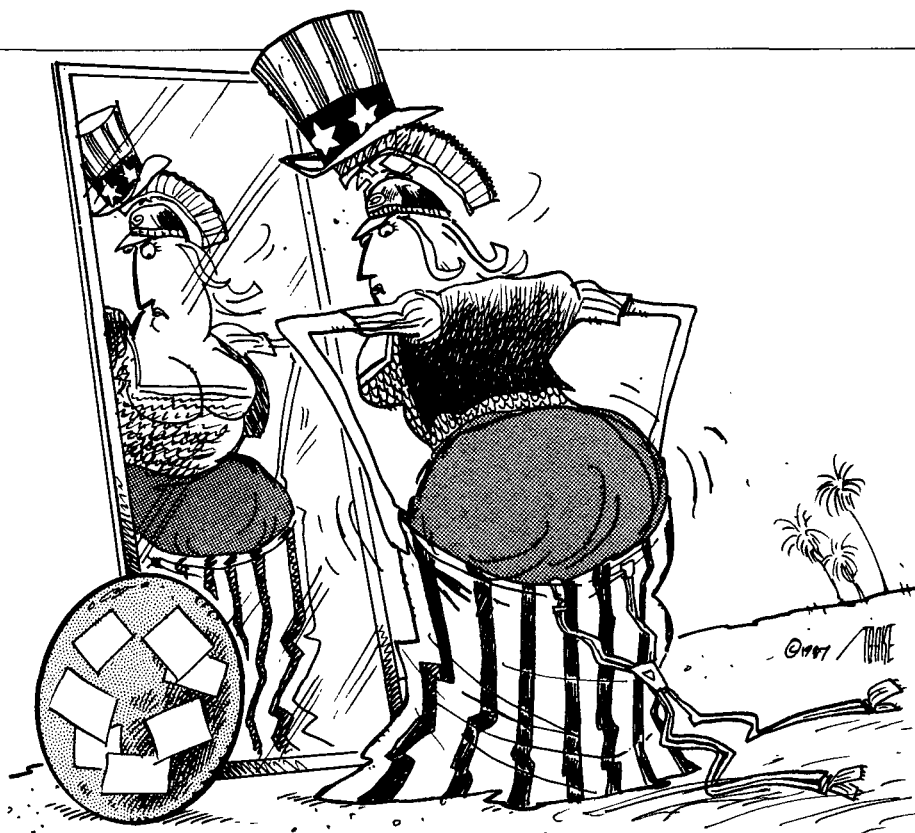
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California has a foreign policy?

State Legislature can't resist

By **ARNOLD HAMILTON**

Just minutes after swearing-in ceremonies last December, California's 40 state senators plunged headlong into the weighty affairs of government. It wasn't that they were preoccupied with frighteningly sluggish state tax revenues. It wasn't that they were alarmed by the skyrocketing costs of state health programs. And it wasn't that they were scrambling to resolve a year-long impasse over the site for a new Los Angeles prison.

What transformed a normally placid, two-day organizational session into a wild-eyed fit of demagoguery was none other than Iranscam — a.k.a. Contragate — the arms-for-hostages deal between the U.S. and Iran in which money was laundered to rebels seeking to topple the government of Nicaragua.

Saying they were tired of being labeled "less than patriotic" whenever they dared oppose President Reagan, liberal Democrats urged passage of a sharply-worded resolution that would have put the California Senate on record as expressing "disapproval and profound disappointment" in the "secretly arranged" arms shipment to the "known terrorist government" of Iran.

"We are sick and tired of the (GOP) castigation," boomed Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti. "Yeah, this is a political shot. The Republicans have negotiated for

ransom. The Republicans have acted in a way other than they talk."

After hours of intense partisan rhetoric, a coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans helped derail the resolution. But the skirmish over Gippergate would not be the last foray of the 1987-88 session into the murky world of foreign affairs.

As if the international court of public opinion hangs on its every pronouncement, the California Legislature stands ready, able and more than willing to pontificate on any and every conceivable world issue.

From the absurd to the sublime, state lawmakers have churned out more than 100 foreign policy resolutions in the last four-and-one-half sessions — 13 this year alone — in an often incoherent display of ideologies and opinions that would make even the most strident Red-baiters and liberals blush with embarrassment.

It is state government in its most curious form. Why does a Legislature, struggling with the demands of an exploding population on state services, indulge itself in international affairs at an average cost of \$3000 per resolution?

First, there is the Charmin theory of legislative foreign policy.

"We have a joke around here that they have to print those resolutions on two-ply perforated so when they get to Congress, they'll know what to do with them," says Republican Assemblyman William Baker of Walnut Creek. "We have absolutely no expertise, no knowledge, no staff that prepares us

Arnold Hamilton is a Capitol correspondent for the San Jose Mercury News.

for foreign policy issues, but ... lack of knowledge has never slowed us down yet."

Others suggest that deep-seated needs are met by stretching legislative influence throughout the world.

"It's like scratching your nose," offers Senate Majority Leader Barry Keene of Vallejo. "You feel better afterwards."

But to some lawmakers, it is simply smart politics.

"Our foreign policy has worked very well here in California," insists Senator Bill Campbell, a Hacienda Heights Republican. "We have not yet gone to war with Arizona, Nevada or Oregon, and we've got reasonably good relations with Mexico."

"However, we do have a few problems with Catalina from time to time."

In reality, the foreign policy initiatives often do represent an exercise in pragmatic politics. Most resolutions are born not out of ideology or moral indignation, but of a constituent's plea that the plight of an oppressed people be highlighted or an atrocity remembered.

For example, in September 1983 Americans were outraged when a Soviet military fighter destroyed an unarmed Korean Air Lines jet, killing all 269 aboard. To liberals and conservatives alike, it was an unwarranted, inexplicable act of aggression against a civilian airliner that accidentally strayed into Soviet airspace.

While Governor George Deukmejian ordered flags on state buildings flown at half-staff to honor the victims, Democratic Assemblyman Mike Roos went to work on a resolution urging President Reagan and the Congress to "condemn the Soviet Union for its willful breach of international law and treaty obligations" and to consider "appropriate sanctions."

For Roos, it was important the Legislature approve the resolution quickly, not only because it put lawmakers on record as condemning the act, but also because he wanted to carry the anti-Soviet statement to a week-end rally of Korean-Americans in his Los Angeles district.

The destruction of the Korean Air Lines jet also underscored the potential for embarrassment when state legislators, used to dealing with fruit fly eradication projects, insist on bullying themselves onto the international stage.

Not long after Roos' resolution sailed through the Assembly and Senate, one of the Legislature's most conservative members, Republican Senator John Doolittle of Citrus Heights, drafted an anti-Soviet diatribe that, upon amendment in the Assembly, urged the president and the Congress to take "appropriate action" to prevent Russian athletes from participating in the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles.

Less than five months later, a contrite Senate, chagrined by the worldwide media clamor, reversed field when the resolution of another Republican senator, Ken Maddy of Fresno, passed, welcoming all nations to join in the games and urged Californians to be "gracious hosts" to those attending.

While most resolutions help fill congressional dumpsters or decorate walls in the offices of special-interest groups, not all forays into foreign affairs are futile. In fact, some expressions of righteous indignation have not only resulted in good politics but also in good public policy, in the view of many lawmakers.

It was only last September, for example, that Deukmejian signed into law landmark legislation ordering the withdrawal of more than \$11 billion in state investments from companies conducting business in South Africa. In what was believed to be the largest divestment action by any state, the government said the new law sent a message to the white-minority government in Pretoria that "a great and free people are not going to fall silent to racism and to brutal oppression."

And this year, San Jose Senator Dan McCorquodale and

Palo Alto Assemblyman Byron Sher secured the signatures of 40 lawmakers on a letter to the International Whaling Commission, opposing Japan's request to kill 875 whales for research purposes.

McCorquodale, expanding his role as Senate Natural Resources and Wildlife Committee chairman to new horizons, is supporting a continued moratorium on whaling in an effort to protect the species from extinction and to protect a fledgling California industry: whale-watching.

"We're trying to protect Humphrey," deadpans McCorquodale, referring to the lovable spouter who mistakenly swam up the Sacramento Delta two years ago. "He may be in that 875 whales to be killed. He was around long enough to be a California constituent, even though he didn't go through my district."

"We've issued a release (on the letter). We don't know whether he's read it or heard about it yet, but we want him to know we're with him on this issue."

Conservatives and liberals may argue over the philosophical slant of resolutions. And Republicans and Democrats may debate whether world affairs measures are noble or a waste of time and money. But on one point, nearly everyone in the Legislature seems to agree: State-initiated foreign policy is on the decline.

"Maybe it's a sign of the times," says Senator Campbell, a veteran of 10 legislative sessions. "I remember at one point in the '70s, we were taking a position on everything. We're a lot more selective now. I think the respective rules committees try to encourage people to back off if it's not an issue of critical importance to constituents in their area. There's a feeling we ought to leave the real controversial issues to Congress."

Assemblyman Baker says he believes the current Legislature is more concerned with state issues, such as mental health, than with using the legislative platform to promote personal ideology.

"Most of the Sandinistas have gone to Congress," he says, referring to former Democratic legislators Howard L. Berman and Mel Levine. "They loved playing politics. It isn't as bad as it used to be, but it's still pretty outlandish."

"We still fight the Middle East war here."

This year's foreign affairs resolutions have been noticeably less strident than past journeys into the international arena. Divestiture remains the most popular buzzword. The plight of Soviet Jews remains a hot topic, as does the memory of the Holocaust. And American prisoners of war in Indochina remain on the front-burner of the Legislature's — if not the public's — consciousness.

But as if to remind everyone that the old, off-beat days of legislative foreign policy could re-emerge with only the slightest spark, there is Democratic San Jose Assemblyman John Vasconcellos, a veritable flower child of the '60s, introducing his "Peace Package" for the fifth straight year.

He continues to push for designation of August 6th — the anniversary of the U.S. dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima, Japan — as "Peace Day" in California. He continues to promote a student exchange program between California and the Soviet Union in an effort to shatter the barriers of distrust between the superpowers. And he continues to fight for creation of elementary and high school programs that will teach students "about the implications of nuclear-age problems."

"I'm still surprised by some of the things that crop up," says Senator Keene. "The attitude of most of us is, 'There's no reason not to pass it.' But I think we just question whether it has a great deal of weight, significance or effect. I suppose, in the end, it's just ritualistic." 🏠

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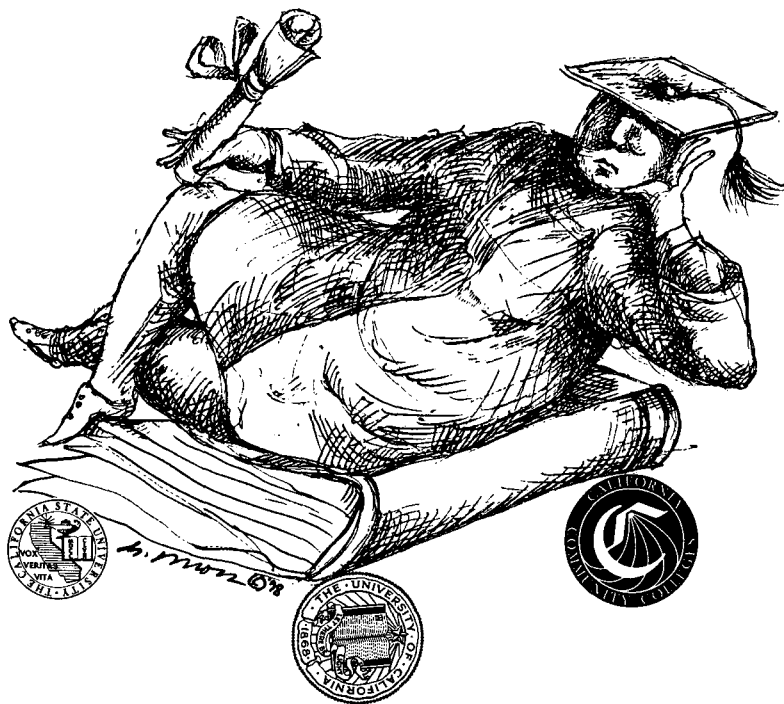
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Reshaping community colleges

The Master Plan for Higher Education

By JUDY TACHIBANA

California's tripartite system of higher education was given a thorough checkup by the education doctors during the past two years. While the bipartisan Commission for the Review of the Master Plan for Higher Education found the University of California and the California State University system in relatively good health, it prescribed medication and surgery for what many saw as an ailing patient — the system of 106 two-year community colleges that serve more than a million Californians.

Some of the commission recommendations reaffirm portions of California's first master plan, written in 1960, but others — far from being embraced by working educators — would dramatically change the way community colleges are governed and financed.

The community colleges have long occupied an educational netherland. They are part of the state's higher education system, but they are financed like grade schools. Their graduates

have never enjoyed the same prestige as those from the University of California or the CSU system.

While the commission gave some thought to recommending changes in the relationship of the three units, in the end they concentrated on community colleges. The University of California will continue to educate only the top tier of high school graduates, with an emphasis on graduate education. Although CSU pushed, as it has in the past, to be allowed to grant doctoral degrees in education, in the end its role as the provider of undergraduate education was reaffirmed.

Since the original master plan was adopted in 1960, the economic, social and cultural conditions in California have changed dramatically. The state's population is more diverse, with ethnic minorities expected to outnumber the Anglo majority soon after the turn of the century. Students who attend community colleges are no longer mostly recent high school graduates but are increasingly older students who are returning to school part-time. With such changes, the original master plan

needed updating. In 1984 the Legislature created the commission to examine and report on California's postsecondary education needs through the turn of the century.

But there is considerable question whether the recommendations formed by the current commission will be followed. For one thing, they are only advisory to a joint legislative committee headed by Assembly Ways and Means Committee Chairman John Vasconcellos, a San Jose Democrat who has already expressed reservations about some of the recommendations.

For another, some of the commission's proposed changes would reduce the authority of the 70 local community college boards, each consisting of five locally elected board members. That makes 350 elected officials poised to pressure legislators against making precipitous changes.

The reactions from the education community to the changes for community colleges are mixed. Some praised the commission's conclusions, although a number of these also criticized the lack of recommendations for funds

Judy Tachibana is a staff writer for The Sacramento Bee.

needed to implement those very suggestions. Others called its examination "limited" and disagreed with portions of the commission's 68 recommendations. Its most radical suggestions — those that would increase control of the



Vasconcellos



Smith

colleges by state educators and decrease local control — received much disapproval from educators.

After the commission turns in its final report on higher education later this summer, the community colleges may recede from the glare of the spotlights. The results of the recommended treatment may only become known when the stitches are removed and the system begins to heal during coming years.

But after years of suffering from benign neglect, the dialogue, debate and interest generated by the examination

itself have already begun to alter community college life. For example, when the commission's direction became clear, some districts started programs to assess students and place them in classes appropriate to their abilities. In some areas, transfer agreements between community colleges and their nearby universities are already active.

The recommendations of the commission were modified by the legislative joint committee. The committee's bill contains no major changes in the way colleges are governed nor in the way they are financed — two issues some consider crucial to any reform package.

Commission members optimistically hoped their governance recommendations would be incorporated into the legislation authored by committee chairman Vasconcellos. However, Vasconcellos said the action was "doubtful" and that he did not agree with those governance recommendations.

The reforms must be passed by the full Legislature, then signed by Governor Deukmejian.

After years of virtually ignoring the community colleges, Deukmejian recently attended a board of governors meeting and said that he supported the basic directions recommended by the commission. He said he planned to

work with the Legislature and the community college system to explore fiscal reform and accountability — an area sorely in need of reform.

When the Little Hoover Commission conducted a five-month study of the community colleges last year, it said the system's financing method is inadequate and will continue to be in jeopardy unless the chancellor and board of governors are given more authority.

"When we asked the simple question, 'Who is accountable and who is in charge?' no one could answer definitively," according to the Little Hoover Commission's report.

The Master Plan commission made a number of recommendations for change which will have an impact on the students who attend the community colleges. Among them, the commission recommended that:

- the goals of the two-year institutions in the 1960 master plan — to provide vocational education and to prepare students to transfer to four-year institutions — be reaffirmed;
- state funded non-credit adult education and fee-based community service education be considered supplementary to the two primary functions;
- open access to all high school graduates and others who are at least 18 years old be reaffirmed. At the same time, it advised the establishment of academic standards, prerequisites, and probation and dismissal standards;
- remedial education be considered an important function of the two-year colleges, but that there be a limit of 30 semester units or 45 quarter units per student to bring them up to collegiate level;
- better coordination and transfer programs with high schools, colleges and universities be established and that a general education transfer core curriculum be developed which would ensure transfer to UC or CSU;
- community college teachers be treated like their CSU and UC colleagues — that minimum standards replace the existing teacher credential system and that faculty members be hired on the recommendation of tenured faculty in their academic department; the number of years before tenure is granted be lengthened; faculty members participate in peer review for promotion and teacher salaries be dependent on academic rank rather than on number of years served;
- statewide policy be established consistent with the objective of maintaining a core of experienced full-time faculty, and that where part-time faculty

The commission

The Commission for the Review of the Master Plan for Higher Education was established in 1984 through enabling legislation authored by Republican state Senator Jim Nielsen of Rohnert Park. A temporary entity, the commission will cease to exist on January 1, 1988. Executive Director Lee R. Kerschner, who was selected by the board of commissioners, will become vice chancellor of academic affairs for the California State University system when the commission ends.

Commission members: J. Gary Shansby (chairman), investment banker; William D. Campbell (vice chairman), businessman; Meredith J. Khachigian, businesswoman; Edward R. Mosley, physician — appointed by Governor George Deukmejian.

Patsy Estrellas, public school teacher; Felix S. LeMarinel, insurance broker; Glenn Rothner, attorney — appointed by the Senate Rules Committee.

Henry Der, executive director of the San Francisco Chinese Affirmative Action League; Peter A. McCuen, builder; Michael R. Peevey, vice president of Southern California Edison — appointed by Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr.

Harold M. Williams, president of J. Paul Getty Trust, appointed by the UC Board of Regents; Claudia Hampton, retired administrator of Los Angeles schools, appointed by CSU Board of Trustees; George Kieffer, attorney, appointed by the Community College Board of Governors; Seth P. Brunner, attorney, appointed by the California Postsecondary Education Commission; Bill Honig, superintendent of public instruction, appointed by the superintendent of public instruction; Ray Remy, president of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, appointed by the Association of Independent California Colleges and Universities.

are necessary, they be required to help counsel students and develop curriculum and that they be paid for those hours; and,

- the funding formula be changed from one that is based on the average daily attendance to a more flexible one that takes into account student services, high-cost remedial instruction and plant maintenance.

The controversial governance issue of the community colleges was one of the last resolved by the commission. In earlier discussions, the commission considered, then discarded a plan that would have eliminated the 70 semi-autonomous districts — and their local boards of trustees and chief executive officers. It also dismissed a \$32,000 report by outside consultants which suggested only minor changes in the current system.

In March seven commissioners pushed for a plan that would have overhauled the system completely. That proposal would have placed the community colleges under a single system with a governing board comparable in powers and duties to the CSU system.

The commissioners finally voted to strengthen the board of governors by recommending that they take control over the academic affairs of the colleges and that state money for the schools be allocated through the board. They also recommended that local chief executive officers require the confirmation of the board — an idea some called impractical and Vasconcellos called "preposterous."

The recommendations on governance are "exactly what should be done," said Los Angeles lawyer George Kieffer, commissioner and former president of the community college board of governors.

David Mertes, chancellor of the Los Rios Community College District near Sacramento, disagreed. "Their governance component is a move to centralize the California community colleges and essentially remove the role of the local boards, and I am opposed to that," Mertes said. "Instead of trying to put a template over everybody, originality and creativity in districts should be encouraged."

Whether the governance recommendations would be implemented is questionable. Vasconcellos said he didn't think the Legislature would be willing to turn over so much power to a board of governors whose members are so new. All of the members are Deukmejian appointees; eight of them were appointed this year and two seats on the

15-member board remain unfilled.

Commission chairman Gary Shansby said that without changes in governance, the other reforms were for naught.

But others, including Vasconcellos, did not feel the issue was crucial. "Governance is important, but it's not the linchpin in making the community colleges work," Vasconcellos said. "It's the people, not the structure, that makes it work. The linchpin is always the professor-student relationship. They didn't even address that in their report. They worked on the periphery. Their attention was on the bat and not on the ball."

What may be a more politically palatable governance plan is being worked on by a coalition of community college organizations and the chancellor's office.

In 1960 when the state's first Master Plan for Higher Education was written, about 340,000 students attended 66 community colleges. Today, more than a million students are enrolled on 106 campuses. And those students are becoming increasingly older and ethnically more diverse — the ethnic minority will nearly become the state's majority by the turn of the century.

After community colleges blossomed in the 1960s and early '70s, their fiscal difficulties began in 1978 with the passage of Proposition 13. The property tax limit shifted the funding base from local districts to the state.

Some two-year institutions began offering less-than-academic courses in an effort to keep their enrollment — and thus, state funding — from declining. The imposition of a controversial \$50 tuition fee in 1984 — demanded by Governor Deukmejian — ended California's traditional no-fee community college education.

But community colleges remain the low-cost entryway to higher education for many who may not have considered it an option. To prevent that entrance from becoming a revolving door, open access needs to be coupled with an assessment and placement program that will put students in classes at their academic level, the commission determined. That program is estimated to cost \$50 million annually.

If the community colleges are to prepare students for transfer to four-year institutions as the commission recommended, they should be providing the same quality lower-division undergraduate education as UC and CSU, said Los Angeles Community College District Chancellor Leslie Koltai. But community colleges are asked to do so with much less money per student, and

the commission did not address that discrepancy, he said.

In fact, the commission's estimates for their recommendations came to about \$70 million, with \$50 million for the assessment program. State Chancellor Joshua Smith said it would take much more to revive the colleges to their performance a decade ago when they were the nation's leaders in community college education. The recommendations proposed by Vasconcellos would cost \$100 million.

The commission didn't push for money for the schools, said commis-



Kieffer

Gabriner

sioner Henry Der, a San Franciscan who is director of Chinese for Affirmative Action and who was often on the losing side of a vote. "Other than money for matriculation, the commission hasn't gone out on a limb to say they need an infusion of money to resuscitate the community colleges, to make them whole," Der said. "They didn't want to ask the governor for money for the programs."

David Rubiales, president of the Community College Association of the California Teachers Association, said the commission did not express enough concern over the 24,000 part-time instructors who teach one-third of the classes in California community colleges.

California Postsecondary Education Commission Director Bill Pickens said that if the purse strings were handed over to the statewide community college board, he was still skeptical about the problems that would be created with local boards determining educational policy.

"Local boards have been given an almost impossible task — satisfying the (local) voters under a state financed system," Pickens said.

Robert Gabriner, president of the Community College Council of the California Federation of Teachers, faulted the commission's report as being "very limited."

Continued on next page

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"The commission had a preoccupation with areas of turf and much less concern with intellectual and academic life of our institutions," Gabriner said. "Without a rich intellectual life on the college campus, it means each faculty member strives for that kind of life elsewhere, if at all. That makes it difficult to maintain the quality of teaching. All of this means that teachers have to swim up a waterfall in order to succeed."

Although the commission did not, the joint committee argued for special funds for the intellectual development of faculty and staff, Gabriner said. He also criticized the commission for omitting policy dealing with the relationship between community colleges and the economic development of the state.

Other educators looked more favorably overall on the commission results. "In general I am positive and supportive of the recommendations," said Tom Fryer, president of the California Community College Chief Executive Officers Association. But Fryer called the governance plan a "backward approach."

Former state chancellor Gerald Hayward said he would find very little to quarrel with in the report. He pointed out that Governor Deukmejian signed legislation for \$14 million for a pilot assessment program — something he has vetoed several times before, Hayward said. "Their (the commission's) endorsement of the concept was the key variable in convincing the governor that it should be funded."

In his proposed budget, Governor Deukmejian last month increased by \$141 million the community college budget, bringing their funding to nearly \$2 billion for the 1987-88 fiscal year. That action, which must be seen in the context of the governor's feud with State Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig, gave hope that community colleges may become an integral part of higher education rather than being shunted aside as stepchildren of the system.

But as Kieffer pointed out, the key to reform in community colleges remains in the governor's hands.

"I am very pleased that he decided to give the money to the community colleges," Kieffer said. "I am still doubtful he has any sense of an educational policy. If he had a sense of educational vision, he would be more involved in getting these reforms through the Legislature."

"He bears responsibility for these reforms being carried out," Kieffer said. "Unless he engages himself, it's going to be very, very difficult." ■

EARTH QUAKE

California is not prepared

By **DEBORAH BLUM**

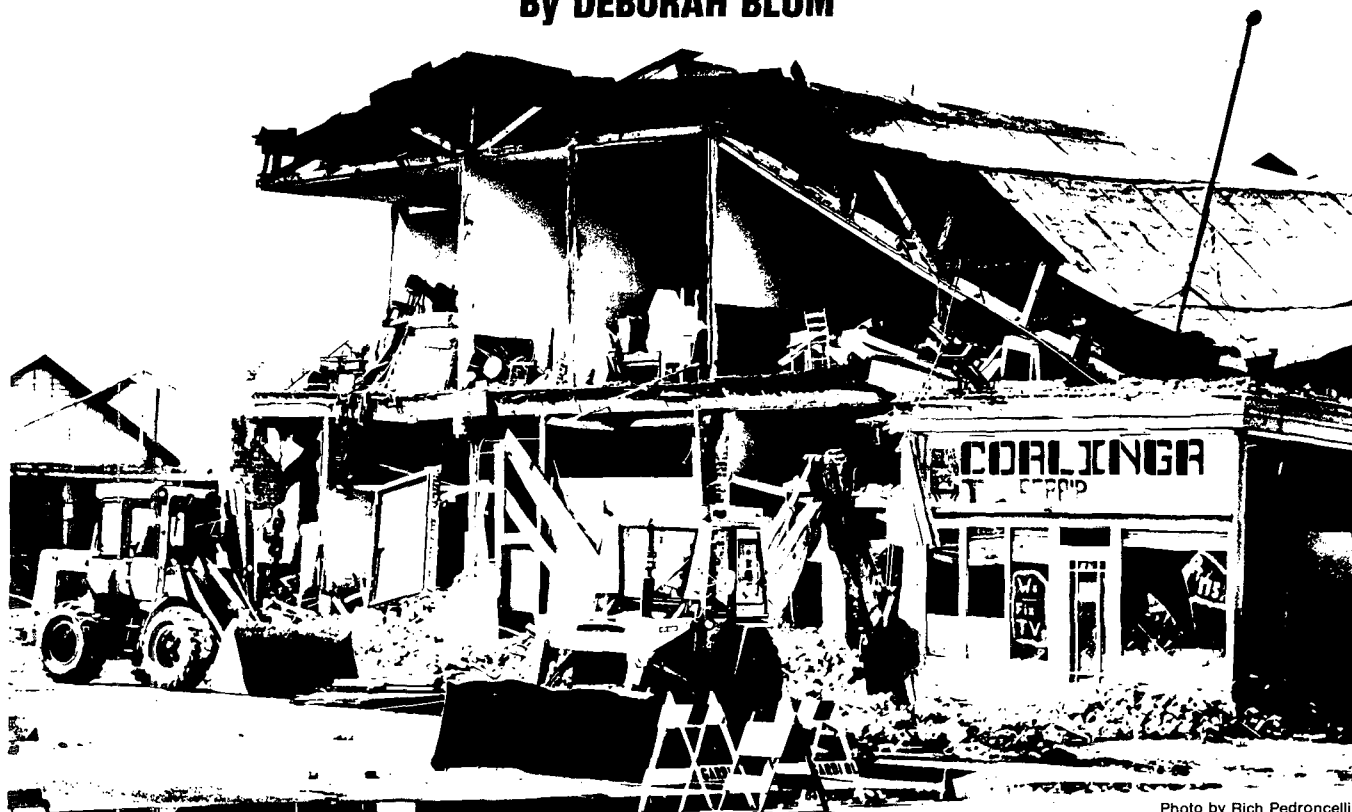


Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

Herbert Thier considers it amusing, sort of. He suspects that some residents of the Midwest, an area not often jolted by earthquakes, are better prepared for one than most Californians.

"They get tornadoes or floods every year," said Thier, director of the California Earthquake Education Project. "They put food away, emergency supplies and equipment. And if they had an earthquake, they'd probably be better off than we would be."

"And the problem is, no one is sure where the earthquake will be. Remember the Coalinga quake in 1983 (which caused \$7.5 million in damage). No one even knew there was an active fault there."

Earthquakes are the most elusive of natural disasters. Hurricane seasons come ticking round every year. Tornadoes, like that which leveled the tiny Texas town of Saragosa in May, strike with regular force. The rising waters of

floods at least give decent warning.

But earthquakes are here and over in seconds. No well-understood warning. All — as in the terrible collapse of buildings in Mexico City in 1985, leaving more than 10,000 dead — or nothing. Between times — and, for big ones, it can be hundreds of years — they hardly seem like real dangers.

"People are more interested in daily hazards," says Tom Tobin, executive director of the California Seismic Safety Commission. "Why worry about a low-probability, high-risk event? People know what wildfires and floods are like. They don't know what a major earthquake is like, so it's hard to get people to believe in it. I have a hard time believing, myself, sometimes."

But Tobin and other state officials know the great phantom earthquake is real, or will be real in time. And they also know that the state isn't ready — or close to it — for a great quake. Maybe, they say, by the turn of the century.

"It's not possible to totally prepare for a great earthquake," says Bill Regensberger, project planner for the Southern California Earthquake Preparedness Project

Deborah Blum is a science writer for The Sacramento Bee.

(SCEPP). "Our goal is to make it more manageable and less costly. But, let's put it on a percentage basis. Say we could get to 80 percent prepared. Right now, we're at about 30 percent."

Already seismic experts give Southern California a 50 percent chance of a great earthquake on the San Andreas fault, nearing the strength of the 1906 San Francisco quake, during the next 25 years. In Northern California, the Hayward fault, which undercuts the East Bay area, is considered equally as dangerous.

The damage estimates are, simply, staggering. Federal earthquake experts think a great quake in the Los Angeles area would kill up to 14,000 people; another 52,000 might be injured. In San Francisco, deaths are forecast at up to 11,000; injuries as high as 44,000. Damage estimates to property run between \$17 billion and \$70 billion.

"Unless we substantially step up our hazard-reduction programs and fate allows us 10 to 15 years to carry them out, the next California earthquake will be a catastrophe with national consequences," says Tobin, pointing out the threat to the country's strong defense, banking and electronics industries here.

It's not that California has ignored the problem.

The earthquake budget has increased steadily during the last decade, from \$17 million in 1977 to \$25 million. Last year, under legislation sponsored by Democratic state Senator Alfred Alquist of San Jose and his Republican colleague, William Campbell of Hacienda Heights, the state put into effect an ambitious five-year plan, the first of a series aimed at improving preparedness by the year 2000.

The plan targets six main areas: reinforcing existing buildings; improving emergency planning and response; regulating future development to avoid high-risk areas; planning for recovery after a great quake; and enhancing programs in research, education and public information.

"We're interested in saving lives first, before property," Tobin says. "The priorities in the plan show that. There are more lives to be saved by implementing the first two parts of that program than anything else we can do."

Yet, Tobin says that current funding is far from enough — less than a dollar per resident each year. The five-year plan has made quick progress in some areas, stalled firmly in others, and in some places actually lost ground. Thier's earthquake-education program, for instance, collapsed in committee in April, imperiling an ambitious program to prepare the state's notoriously relaxed homeowners.

Some of the most straightforward issues — reinforcing California's collection of some 50,000 old, wobbly, dangerous masonry buildings — have rapidly become complicated by difficulties such as dealing with displaced renters who cannot afford other neighborhoods.

Hospitals fall into the same troublesome class. A survey several years ago in six Southern California counties, conducted by the Office of Statewide Health Planning and Development, found that more than 90 percent of the buildings on hospital campuses would not withstand a major earthquake. Yet hospital representatives say massive upgrades would be crippling in their cost.

"Most of those buildings don't meet the 1972 standards," says Richard Andrews, deputy director of the Office of Emergency Services and head of the department's earthquake-preparedness program. "Our estimate in Southern California is that we might lose one-fourth of the hospital beds, which is a concern in an event with a lot of injuries. But upgrading will be extraordinarily expensive. It hasn't been resolved whether it should be public or private financing."

The state, in fact, has identified some 250 buildings of its

own that don't meet current standards; about half are the elegant, elderly buildings of the older University of California campuses. State Senator Art Torres, a Los Angeles Democrat, this year introduced a bill (SB 88) to create the State Earthquake Bond Act of 1988 — an \$800 million issue for both evaluating and retrofitting those buildings. It passed the Senate and is pending in the Assembly.

Aside from improving hazardous buildings, the other compelling issue is coordinating emergency response. Most officials believe that the "big one" will simply overwhelm the state's emergency-response capability if, as feared, it roars from county to county, city to city. They want to boost state capabilities, for instance, by investing in special equipment to rescue trapped victims. But they are not yet sure what will work best.

Officials are even less sure that the state's residents understand the nature of the aftermath. OES officials predict that, in the stricken area, uninjured residents in regions not burning should expect a minimum of three days without government services, including water, police and fire protection. They will probably be without electricity or gas, as well; some officials suggest that residents survey their neighborhoods for swimming pools as a possible water supply.

"I think California is well prepared for moderate earthquakes," says Andrews. "But if we get the big one, greater than 7 on the Richter scale, then that's a very different situation. The demands on the state are going to outstrip its resources."

In the past 150 years, geologists say three earthquakes larger than Richter scale 8 have struck in California. The Richter scale measures the force of an earthquake in a rapidly-increasing manner. An earthquake of 7 is 10 times more powerful than 6.9, 100 times greater than a magnitude 6. Richter defined 3.5 as rumbles; 5 to 5.9 cracks walls; above 8 is total destruction.

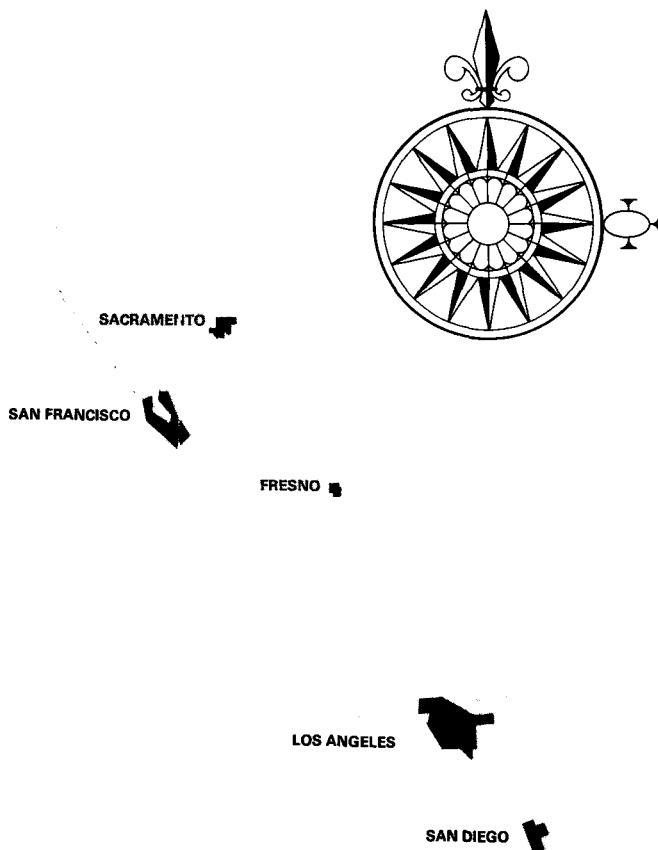
The 1906 San Francisco earthquake, on the great San Andreas fault, was thought to top 8. Two earlier Southern California earthquakes in less-populated areas — the 1857 Fort Tejon quake and an 1872 tremor near Death Valley — also apparently reached that level. More than thirty 5-plus quakes occurred in the same time period.

California sits on the edge of earthquake central, the meeting place of two of the great, restless, rocky plates that make up the Earth's crust. The San Andreas, in fact, marks the boundary between the North American and Pacific plates. And as these massive, ever-shifting chunks of the planet jostle each other, they literally shake the earth.

Despite this geological scenario, California's population has been extraordinarily nonchalant about earthquake risks. In his 1986 book, "Waiting for Disaster: Earthquake Watch in California," Ralph Turner notes that even those in high-risk areas seem "blithely unaware of other risks, such as the dangers of inundation caused by dam collapse and the danger of rampant brushfires in an arid community with a disruption in the water supply."

Turner, a sociologist at UCLA, surveyed more than 3500 adults in the state for his book. Few were well informed. Many believed, for instance, in such signs as "earthquake weather." (In fact, Thier says that because the state held Earthquake Preparedness Month in April this year, a number of callers thought that Spring was a bad time for quakes.)

Turner also found that while Californians overwhelmingly endorse increased government spending for earthquake safety, they tend to think of it as a luxury, behind education, police services and hospital protection. "Incredibly few people spontaneously thought of earthquakes when asked about community problems and hazards of living in



Major fault lines

Southern California," he said.

Still, the state itself has felt an increasing need to brace against trouble. Some of that is due to the pioneering geology of Kerry Sieh, a researcher at the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena, who dug trenches through parts of the southern San Andreas. It was Sieh who determined that the great fault produced large earthquakes on a regular basis — and the southern end of the state is overdue.

And two recent earthquakes made a large impression on state officials. The first was the May 1983 Coalinga quake, which ripped apart a small community in the central San Joaquin Valley — an area thought to be as stable as any in the state. Geologists traced that quake to an unknown fault. Although no one died, the town itself was torn apart, residents living in tents for weeks and sharing horror stories about watching the ground crawl.

"After we confronted Coalinga, the governor realized the earthquakes had to be a top priority," say Bill Medigovich, OES director. "The other thing was Mexico City. We sent teams down there to examine the situation — how, what happened, why — and translate that to California. We saw an urban setting take a heavy hit — not everything applies, but we learned a lot from it."

By September 1986 the state's Five-Year Earthquake Reduction Plan was in place, listing its priorities in a report entitled "California at Risk."

"We appear to be in a quiescent period right now," says John MacLeod, program manager for the Seismic Safety Commission. "And that's fine because we have plenty to do."

Several of the plan's highest-rated projects are moving along rapidly. The state has identified more than 400 jurisdictions in high-risk areas. Under the plan, they must inventory all their unreinforced masonry buildings by 1990. That work is now under way, and some cities are ahead of schedule.

San Francisco, for instance, has pinpointed 2100 dangerous buildings, about two-thirds commercial and one-third residential. The buildings sit squarely in the central city, spread through Chinatown, North Beach and the Tenderloin.

Local officials are now facing the more difficult problem — the high cost of retrofitting and the impact on owners and residents. For instance, in Chinatown, 70 percent of the residential hotels are unreinforced masonry buildings. Those who live there are far from wealthy: the rates for rooms and small apartments are between \$125 and \$150 a month.

In testimony before the Seismic Safety Commission in December, San Francisco architect Mary Comerio estimated that meeting earthquake standards could run \$8000 a unit. She estimates that the repairs would raise rents about \$177 a month.

"There are two issues here," Comerio said. "One, will the market bear that kind of rent increase; and two, what will happen to the 30,000 or 40,000 people who are living in these neighborhoods? In San Francisco, relocation is a serious problem. We have a less-than-one-percent vacancy rate. I don't think anyone currently could develop a very large-scale program to accommodate those people."

In Los Angeles, the city is requiring unreinforced masonry buildings to be upgraded by the end of the decade. The estimated cost to private property owners — who have indicated increasing unhappiness — is close to \$1 billion. The director of the city's housing division says the building list includes 300 residential hotels and 1400 apartment buildings, most built in the 1920s and 1930s.

The problem hasn't gone unnoticed. The Seismic Safety Commission and the state Legislature have both held hearings to try to explore solutions. Assemblyman Dominic Cortese, a San Jose Democrat, has introduced legislation to give tax credits to building owners making seismic improvements.

"Like many public-policy issues, there are very hard choices," Andrews says. "Life safety on the one hand; serious economic issues on the other."

The same applies to the plan's efforts to upgrade hospitals and schools. An effort to inventory some of the state's older schools is still under review. And a survey of the state's hospitals constructed before 1973, when the law governing hospital seismic safety was adopted, was originally scheduled to be done this summer. Instead, the survey will start this month and be finished by late 1988.

Larry Meeks, director of the Office of Statewide Health Planning and Development, says he expects the same dismal results in the current survey as in the earlier Southern California count, which found less than 10 percent of hospital buildings met the law's standards.

"We don't expect those buildings to fall down," he says. "But we still think beds will be rendered unusable. False ceilings will fall, equipment will turn over, lab materials will scatter. It will be useless until it can be fixed up and, in an emergency, no one will be able to spare the time to do that."

Meeks says once the problem buildings are identified, there still is no easy solution on retrofitting the hospitals. He inclines toward the idea that if the state is going to demand the upgrades — which so far it has not — then the state would help with the costs.

"It's a decision the Legislature is going to have to grapple with," he says.

Programs to assess the economic impact of an earthquake and prepare for it have gone nowhere. The state Department of Finance, under the plan, was supposed to start an analysis this July. A seismic commission report, however,

notes that there has been "no activity; no activity planned." The same report notes that the finance department has taken no action or study, also scheduled for this summer, on the impact on a major earthquake on state government programs and revenues.

"Part of our job is to work with state agencies on earthquake programs," Tobin says. "We've done better with some agencies than others."

Two other snags in the plan's first-year program were a budget request denial for \$80,000 to develop a special earthquake research program and the — at least temporary — loss of funding for the California Earthquake Education Program — a \$100,000 a year budget coordinated through the Lawrence Hall of Science at U.C. Berkeley.

"At least for the moment, we're not continued," Thier says. The funding bill died in the Assembly Education Committee in April. Officials say that it got caught up in a backlash against money for the University of California and may well be resurrected.

"But I think more money is needed," Thier says. "And sustained funding."

The commission's analysis shows that most of the initiatives established by the five-year plan are on track. Work is under way to improve the statewide emergency organization network; establish a new state emergency operations center in Southern California; study the feasibility of a state early-warning system; and increase the number of earthquake monitors in buildings.

OES's Andrews says the agency has installed a satellite dish in Southern California that will ensure communications with the state capital, even after a devastating earthquake.

Officials are also planning a series of earthquake exer-

cises in which federal, state and local officials will walk through the first 40 hours after an earthquake. The Southern California earthquake workout will be held this October; 50 local governments, six counties and 20 state agencies are expected to participate. The Northern California version is unlikely to be held before next year, largely because the southern quake is considered more imminent.

The OES has bogged down, for now, in one of its plan directives — developing an urban heavy-rescue unit that would rapidly burrow into collapsed areas of a stricken city to try to save victims. The Mexico City earthquake proved that most of the successful rescues must occur within the first 36 hours.

Right now, however, the emergency officials aren't sure what equipment will work. Andrews said some experts say sonar devices are useful to pinpoint buried people; others say that three blocks must be silenced to give an accurate reading. Both he and Medigovich say the agency is still sorting out what is needed.

"It's a difficult issue," Medigovich says. "And we have reservations about jumping too quickly into a specific proposal without knowing just what we would need or use."

Andrews says the five-year plan has given state officials two valuable tools: a long-term goal of serious improvement by the year 2000; and a list of priorities on paper.

"I think we have a much higher level of preparedness than six years ago," he said. "The most difficult problem is the uncertainty, not knowing where or when."

"And we know that we have to act quickly. The basic problem the Mexican government had was that it couldn't get an accurate sense that first day of how bad the damage was. They tended to underestimate the needed response. That's what we don't want to do. Underestimate."

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Reforming the initiative

Is the process bankrupt?

By CLAUDIA BUCK

It sounded so good on the ballot: "Californians for Better Education."

Nearly three years ago, that lofty-sounding committee spent several million dollars promoting Proposition 37 — the state lottery initiative. It launched an advertising blitz, sounding as though all it wanted was better schools for our kids.

Trouble was, the committee wasn't composed of Californians nor was it especially concerned about education. Californians for Better Education was bankrolled by Scientific Games — a lottery-ticket printing company from Georgia that stood to reap a multi-million-dollar windfall if the lottery initiative passed.

Voters overwhelmingly approved the lottery — and probably would have no matter what the committee called itself or how much it spent.

Nevertheless, that incident is indicative of what's wrong with the state's 76-year-old system of ballot initiatives, say critics.

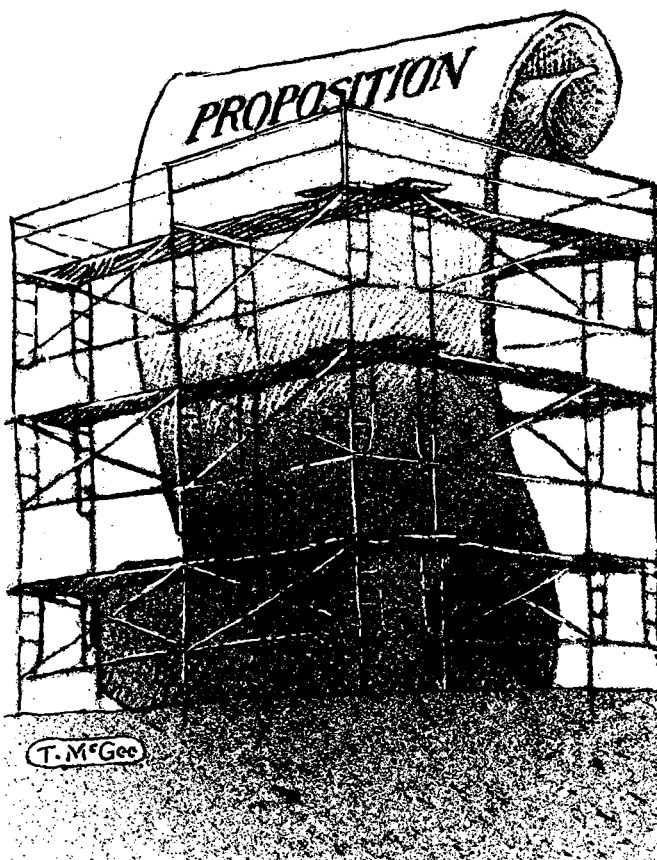
They cite problems with misleading advertising, spiraling costs that threaten to price the "little guy" out, poorly worded and badly-drafted initiatives that wind up in court for interpretation, and slick-and-quick TV spots instead of a real debate of the issues.

"The initiative process is not a good way to draft laws of this state. It should only be used as a last resort," said Democratic Assemblyman Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento, himself one of the sponsors of Proposition 65 — the toxics initiative approved by voters last November.

"Initiative campaigns are getting just as bad as candidate campaigns," said Darren Chesin, Senate Elections Committee consultant. "People are not only making money on them, but it's almost impossible to get something on the ballot without being a business."

Those kinds of sentiments — backed up by several polls in recent years — have prompted a renewed effort in the Capitol to right some of the perceived wrongs in the state's initiative process.

The crusade for initiative reform was launched without success two years ago by the League of Women Voters, which sponsored a number of bills to change the way initiatives are put on the ballot. This year, the League has revived those bills



amid what it says is greater public clamor for change and a riper political climate.

Among the bills the League is supporting are measures that would allow initiatives to go straight to the Legislature instead of the ballot for a vote, require major contributors be noted in all advertising, and require the secretary of state's office to check all initiative petitions for clarity, legal problems and drafting flaws.

"It's a priority for us — a keystone in our campaign to keep politics a process for the people," said Margaret Herman, the League's legislative advocate.

Herman said a year-long study found voters "frustrated" with the initiative process, troubled because what was supposed to be a grass-roots tool of the little guy has increasingly been used by politicians, businesses and corporations.

In a 1985 poll conducted by Common Cause and the Institute of Politics and Government at the University of Southern California, researchers found many Californians want significant changes in the initiative process, including limits on contributions and disclosure of financial backers in campaign advertising.

Perhaps the most dramatic — and controversial — proposal coming from the League is SB 1201 by state Senator Gary Hart, a Santa Barbara Democrat, that would allow initiatives to go straight to the Legislature for a vote instead of to the ballot. Known as the "indirect initiative," it was previously on California's books between 1911 and 1966 but seldom used.

Under Hart's bill, proponents would need to collect only 80 percent of the signatures now required for a ballot initiative. The Legislature would conduct public hearings before voting. If the measure is approved and signed by the governor, the initiative becomes law, eliminating the need for a costly and time-consuming campaign. However, if the Legislature amends the bill and its backers don't like the amendments, they can still take the initiative directly to the voters at the next election.

Hart said it's a needed alternative to the ballot box because too many initiatives lack the debate and compromise that a bill gets in the Legislature.

"It's hard to write good laws. I don't care how bright an attorney or how expert in writing bills you are," Hart said. "The chances of a bill going through unchanged are one in 100."

Unlike initiatives, he noted, bills have the bugs worked

Claudia Buck is a Capitol reporter for The Sacramento Bee.

out before they become law. "Initiatives don't get that. It's not a thoughtful process."

Hart said some Republicans oppose his bill because ballot initiatives tend to be used by conservatives, who have better access to money and votes. Hart calls that "pretty knee-jerk and petty partisan politics." In fact, he says the victory of last year's toxics initiative proves that liberal causes have almost as good a chance at the polls as conservative ones.

But Republican state Senator Jim Nielsen of Rohnert Park said partisan politics has nothing to do with his opposition to Hart's bill. "People resort to initiatives because they don't feel the Legislature has addressed their concerns...I don't see that getting it back to a source of the problem — the

Legislature — is going to solve anything."

Further, he noted, by amending a proposed initiative, the Legislature is "pervert(ing) the intent of those who signed the petition (qualifying it for the ballot)."

But the bill has the support of several groups, including the statewide Parent Teachers Association, the Planning and Conservation League and the California Taxpayers Association. Jim Donnelly, education policy director for the taxpayers' association, said his members have found it frustrating trying to analyze poorly-worded initiatives that are confusing in their intent and meaning.

Hart's bill, he believes, can remedy that by "cleaning up" an initiative before it gets to the ballot. "We feel the public scratches its head constantly over whether an opponent's one-minute commercial is correct. They turn to the language in the initiative and it's confusing."

Worse, he said, is that too many initiatives end up in court, attempting to be clarified, "at considerable expense to the public."

The League also is sponsoring AB 1331 by Democratic Assemblywoman Jackie Speier of South San Francisco, which would require initiatives — before they qualify for the ballot — to be checked by the secretary of state's office for clarity, legal errors and drafting flaws.

"People often are signing petitions without the kind of information they should have — and they don't get it until after the initiative is on the ballot," said Speier.

She said a good example of the problem was the AIDS initiative, which easily gathered enough signatures to qualify for last November's ballot. But after voters were exposed to a thorough airing of what it actually would accomplish, the measure (Proposition 64) was overwhelmingly defeated at the polls. Speier said she's aware that some may view her bill as interfering with a sacred institution.

"To me, it's not tampering," she said. "It's fine-tuning the initiative process. We're taking a diamond-in-the-rough and making it more brilliant. We're trying to protect democracy."

Ironically, the secretary of state's office is lukewarm about Speier's proposal. "It would be putting a lot of time and resources into something that may or may not go anywhere," said John Mott-Smith, elections analyst in the secretary of state's office.

During the past seven years, he said, as many as 30 ballot initiatives have been circulated for signatures at a given time but only a handful eventually qualified for the ballot. He said analyzing that many proposed initiatives would substantially increase the office's workload and necessitate hiring several additional attorneys.

Yet not everyone is thrilled with the notion of tinkering with the initiative.

Paul Gann — who became a national hero along with the late Howard Jarvis after sponsoring Proposition 13 in 1978 — is leery.

"I hate to see them start messing around with the initiative. It's the only sure way that government has of fighting the appointed power structure. I would sit down and cry if anything happened to the initiative. It's that important."

Yet some of Gann's own initiatives — the Victim's Bill of Rights and his recently-defeated proposal to cut some state salaries — are cited as examples of what's wrong with initiatives today.

The Victim's Bill of Rights is still hung up in the courts and the salary initiative was skewered by voters — both because of confusion over their intent and meaning.

Gann brushes aside such criticism. "Any honest legislator will tell you that there are very few times a perfect bill has been written."

BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 372,145 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 595,485. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal that contains a full explanation of each measure.

New in circulation:

OCEAN NET FISHING — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Kenneth Kukuda of Santa Ana, would prohibit the use or operation of a long line, gill net, trammel net, or any other entangling net in ocean waters within three nautical miles of the California coast. Violations would constitute a misdemeanor. (November 27, 1987)

WILDLIFE, COASTAL, AND PARK LAND CONSERVATION BOND ACT — an initiative statute, sponsored by Californians for Parks & Wildlife, that would authorize a general obligation bond issue of \$776 million to provide funds for the acquisition, development, rehabilitation, protection or restoration of park, wildlife, coastal and natural lands within the state. This is the first initiative bond act in 65 years and only the seventh in history. (November 11, 1987)

AIDS — an initiative statute, sponsored by Brian Lantz and Khushro Ghandi of Livermore, that would declare Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome an infectious, contagious and communicable disease and the condition of carrying an AIDS-causing virus to be an infectious, contagious and communicable condition. It would require that both the disease and the condition be placed on the Department of Health Services' list of reportable diseases and make carriers subject to quarantine and isolation regulations and laws. This proposal is sponsored by proponents of, and is similar to, Proposition 64, which was defeated during the November 1986 election. (November 19, 1987)

Continuing in circulation:

LAW INVALIDATION — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Eleanor Hemstreet of Sacramento and Helen Lowery of San Andreas. (August 3, 1987; June 1987 CJ)

STREETS AND HIGHWAY FUNDING — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Paul Gann of Carmichael and Republican Assemblywoman Doris Allen of Cypress. (September 17, 1987; June 1987 CJ)

FAMILIES — an initiative constitutional amendment sponsored by Stephen Konhoff of Sacramento. (September 21, 1987; June 1987 CJ)

Source: Secretary of State March Fong Eu

However, Gann said he had no trouble with a bill (SB 1531 by Democratic state Senator Milton Marks of San Francisco) that would force disclosure of large campaign contributors or with Speier's measure requiring the a secretary of state's office to check the wording of proposed initiatives.

Other bills dealing with initiatives include:

- A bill by Senators Marks and William Craven to clear up the mystery behind euphemistic campaign committee names by requiring any industry, corporation, union or individual who contributes substantially to a campaign to be noted in all advertising.

The bill, SB 1198, presumably would better explain such innocuous committee names as "Californians Against Regulatory Excess" — the name used by the tobacco industry in its 1980 campaign against an anti-smoking proposition.

- AB 290, a bill by GOP Assemblyman Tom McClintock of Camarillo, narrowing the number of signatures that must be checked for authenticity on initiative petitions. The bill has passed the Legislature and is on the Governor's desk.

- a measure banning the practice of paying people to collect signatures, authored by state Senator Dan McCorquodale of San Jose. The bill, SB 454, was sent to interim study, usually certain death for a measure, but a Senate Elections Committee consultant said the bill is definitely alive but will be re-examined to make sure it does not hurt the grass roots groups it was intended to help.

Despite all the activity on the initiative front lines, some remain skeptical that things will ever change.

"They (bills) will help a little but they won't remedy the



Herman



Gann

problems," said Larry Berg, USC professor and director of the Institute of Politics and Government. "The initiative is a victim of the same problems as campaigns...very little emphasis on substance and a very big emphasis on money."

Berg intends to rally support this summer among newspaper editorial boards for a series of televised debates on initiatives. The debates, something akin to the candidate debates held by the League of Women Voters, would be held on university campuses. He said a serious debate of issues would give the media something to talk about "other than how much each side is spending."

Like Berg, Walter Zelman of Common Cause is skeptical that all of this year's proposals will change what's wrong with the initiative process. Yet he sees one overriding virtue to the initiative: It may be the only true political choice voters have left.

"Given the dearth of issues among candidates...it's something people can get interested in politically," said Zelman. "The initiative keeps people alive politically." ■

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Sept. 18

ALL ABOUT THE GANN LIMIT

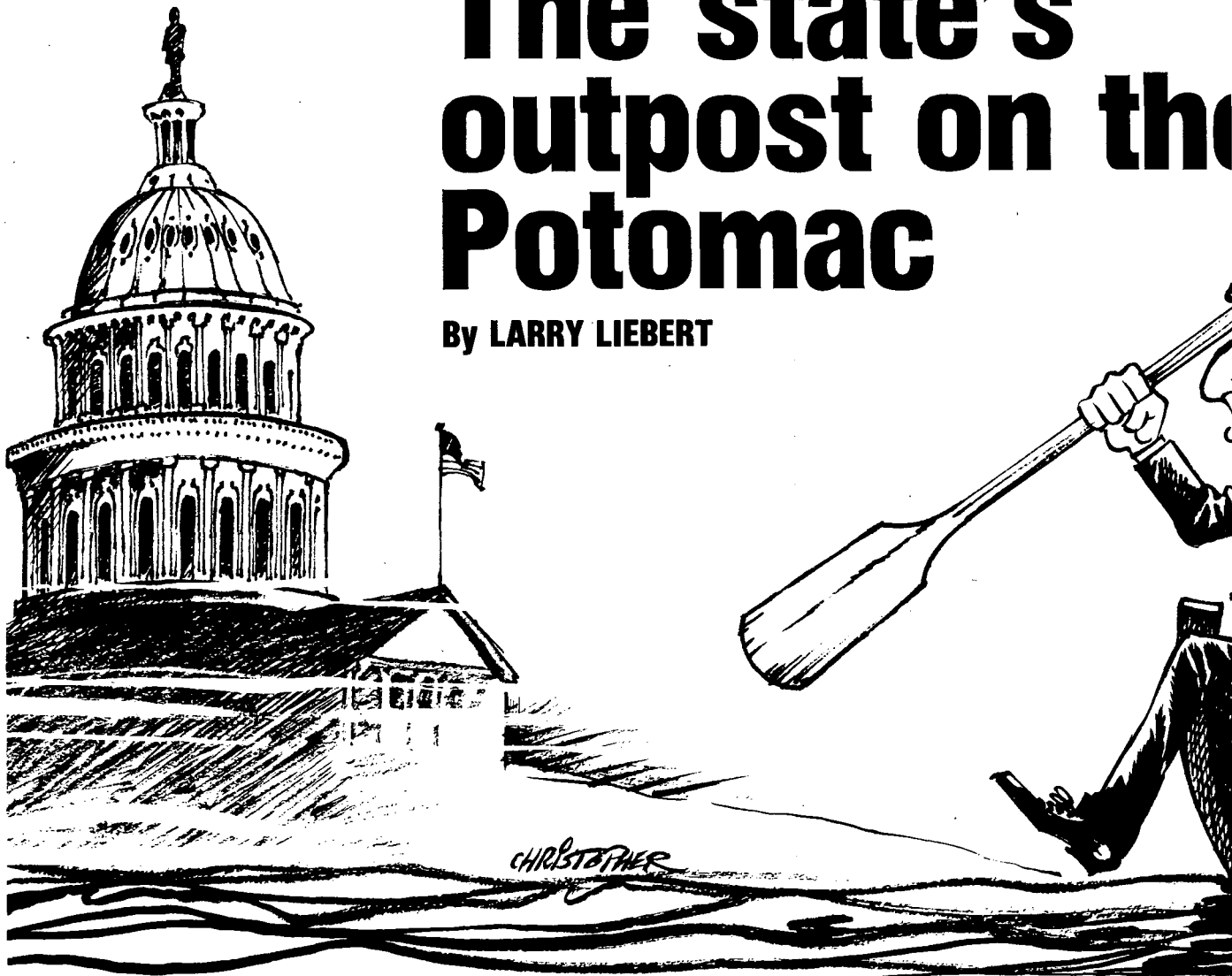
Sacramento

Mark your calendar. This program is designed to reduce confusion and clarify options available to state and local agencies. More information provided upon request.

California's Washington Lobbyists

The state's outpost on the Potomac

By LARRY LIEBERT



About once a month, anywhere from 30 to 100 lobbyists and legislative aides carting carry-out lunches in paper bags troop into the Hall of the States, a building near the Capitol that houses offices for state governments.

Larry Liebert is Washington bureau chief for the San Francisco Chronicle and writes a monthly column on Washington politics for California Journal.

"It's not a small, intimate group," said Karen Spencer, who convenes the brown-bag lunches of California's lobbyists in Washington. "We go around the table and talk about what everyone is working on. We maybe focus on immigration or the campaign for the Super Collider. You sort of feel like you belong to a community."

The loosely-organized community includes lobbyists for business interests and for local government in California. It also includes the state's own lobbying contingent.

A naive student of freshman civics might believe that California's interests are sufficiently represented in Washington by the two senators and 45 members of the House who are elected by its voters. But state agencies consider it necessary to spend almost \$2 million a year to represent their interests — and those of the politicians who run them — in the nation's capital.

California's state government needs a large and full-time presence in Washington partly because the state is a continent away from decision-makers there,



argues Spencer, the state's chief lobbyist as director of Governor George Deukmejian's 12-person office in Washington. "We are a different state in that we're so far away," she said. "We can't have people just dropping in, because it takes a day just to get here."

Spencer, who is paid \$65,000 a year, runs an office that is costing California taxpayers \$935,000 this year. In addition to secretaries, the staff includes representatives who specialize in issues of special concern to the governor's various agencies.

Two Department of Finance representatives plow through the federal budget to divine multi-billion dollar implications for California. A Resources Agency representative helps communicate Deukmejian's enthusiasm for offshore oil drilling — a position that puts the governor in sync with Interior Secretary Donald Hodel and against most of the state's Senate and House delegation. The Food and Agriculture Department's lobbyist — a former farmer from Firebaugh named John Nakamura — frets over agricultural subsidies and the

impact of the new immigration law on the state's farmers. The Health and Welfare Agency's expert analyzes the latest changes in welfare regulations and presses for payment formulas favorable to California. The Department of Transportation's specialist lobbies for highway grants. The new World Trade Commission has someone in Washington to promote the state's interest in exports.

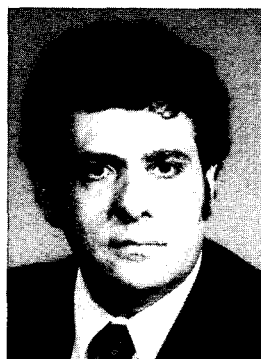
Overseeing it all is Spencer, a quintessentially political person. Spencer traces her family's California political roots back to her 85-year-old grand-

father. "He was a dentist, but he was on the San Gabriel Valley Republican Central Committee for 35 years," she said. "Richard Nixon used to go up to his dental office for advice, not dental work."

But it is Karen Spencer's father who is best known in politics. Stuart Spencer was instrumental in engineering Ronald Reagan's election as California governor in 1966 and Gerald Ford's victory over Reagan in the Republican presidential primaries of 1976. Now, the 60-year-old Spencer, who operates out of Newport Beach, is a senior strategist whose counsel is sought by Reagan whenever the going gets rough



Spencer



Vienna

and by most major California Republican politicians, including Deukmejian.

Karen Spencer scoffs at the notion her father's clout helped her get her job on the state of California's payroll. The younger Spencer, who was a lobbyist for business interests in Sacramento until Deukmejian made her his lobbyist three-and-a-half years ago, said, "I worked for Gerald Ford when he was president, in his news summary office; then I worked for Congressman Dick Cheney on the Hill for two years. So I had some experience in Washington, at one end of Pennsylvania Avenue and the other end.

"This office is totally bipartisan," she added emphatically. "I'm obviously a Republican, but we're here to serve the state of California, and we go to both parties."

Spencer is given good reviews by Democrats on that score. "Karen is very easy to work with," said one key Democratic congressional aide. "There are few issues we get together on, but when we do, we work well together."

A Democratic lobbyist confided that Spencer's operation for Deukmejian is far less partisan than the operation under former Governor Jerry Brown, who twice ran for president while serving in Sacramento. "Jerry Brown's office was a warehouse for political operatives," he said. "They had their own

agenda — a political operation for his presidential primary campaigns."

Nonetheless, the state office under Spencer sticks closely to Deukmejian's conservative agenda on issues. On one hand, the staff has worked with the state's Democrat-controlled congressional delegation to lobby, in stiff competition with other states, for the \$4.4 billion atom smasher known as the Super Collider.

On the other hand, the state office's Health and Welfare representative has done little more than watch from the sidelines as California members of Congress have pressed for more federal funds to fight the deadly AIDS epidemic that has hit hard in California. "It has a momentum of its own," Priscilla Hobson, Spencer's deputy for health and welfare issues, said of the drive for more AIDS funding. "It doesn't need a lot of special encouragement now."

The governor's office is the largest state operation in Washington, but it is by no means the only one. Scattered around offices on Capitol Hill are the offices of other state agencies that insist on having their own representatives here — at taxpayer expense.

Here are the key players in California's lobbying contingent:

David Vienna:

"Pound for pound — and I'm a heavy fellow — we save the state money," insists Vienna, who maintains he has secured literally billions of dollars for the state treasury by lobbying for favorable provisions in obscure but crucial tax legislation (see "David Vienna," *CJ*, October 1983).

Unlike Spencer, Vienna is a "contract lobbyist" who numbers California among the private and public clients of his firm. A former newspaper reporter and a native of Southern California, Vienna mentions that he dropped out of the University of San Francisco after "I blew my first semester's tuition at Bay Meadows" racetrack.

Vienna boasts of a nine-employee operation and a "rather extraordinary computer support operation" that keeps tabs on the key votes and hometown political base of every member of Congress. Reaping the benefits of three separate contracts with representatives of the state, Vienna collects:

— \$85,000 a year from the state to represent the Franchise Tax Board. "The IRS code is a moving target," he said, and he is constantly watching for provisions that could cost the state money. He also defends California's right to impose a scaled-back version of the controversial unitary tax on international businesses.

— Another \$50,000 a year to represent the state Board of Equalization. He said his current project for that board is to win legislation overturning a Supreme Court decision that barred states from taxing mail-order sales.

— And \$67,000 a year to represent the interests of state Controller Gray Davis before the administration and non-California members of Congress. Not content to have just one lobbyist here, the politically ambitious Davis has also arranged a \$53,000-a-year state contract to Josiah Beeman — one of Jerry Brown's former lobbyists here — to represent him in dealing with the state's congressional delegation.

Although some who work the halls of Congress prefer euphemisms for the work — such as "legislative liaison" or "governmental affairs specialist" — Vienna is candid about his line of work. "'Lobbying' is a good word," he says. "That's what it is."

Roscoe Dellums:

Unlike Vienna, Dellums is emphatically not a lobbyist, according to a spokeswoman for her employers — the California Assembly.

"She is not supposed to do any lobbying whatsoever," said Susan Jetton, press secretary to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, a San Francisco Democrat. "She was not hired as a lobbyist. That is not her function. They don't need a full-time lobbyist. If there were a critical issue, the speaker and the other Assembly leaders have very close relations to the California members of Congress."

Why are Dellums' bosses so eager to rebut any suggestion that she lobbies in return for the nearly \$50,000 she collects each year from California's treasury? Perhaps because that would suggest a conflict-of-interest within her family. Her husband is Representative Ron Dellums, an eight-term Democrat from Oakland. If lobbying were part of her job, he is one of the members of the California congressional delegation she would be lobbying.

Then what is it Dellums does? Some reports have suggested she is little more than a highly-paid clipping service, sending a bundle of newspaper articles to Sacramento once a week.

Insisting that Dellums does far more sophisticated "tracking" of California issues, Jetton said, "Her job is to monitor issues. One of the things she does is alert us to things coming. She might say, 'You need to make a push on this issue.'"

Nonetheless, some California representatives in Washington say Dellums is notable by her absence from impor-

tant hearings and meetings. She did not return repeated phone messages for comment on her job.

Unlike the Assembly, the state Senate no longer finds it necessary to retain a Washington lobbyist.

Paul Sweet:

Sweet heads a five-member staff in the University of California's lobbying office. He has a \$250,000-a-year budget yet boasts, "No state funds support this office." Instead, Sweet said, his office — which lobbies the federal government — is financed with federal tax money. The source is the "overhead" built into the federal grants on which the UC system relies so heavily.

"We don't have a PAC (political action committee) and honoraria to hand out, and we don't do junketing," Sweet said, "but otherwise I do what lobbyists do."

Currently, Sweet is spending most of his personal time lobbying for the Super Collider, from which UC would hope to benefit. But his office's concerns range from lobbying for generous student loans to worrying about labor legislation on behalf of one of California's largest employers. Sweet's office does not work directly to get federal grants — a duty handled by academic departments at UC campuses.

Clyde Aveilhe:

A full-time employee of the California State University system, Aveilhe has a budget of about \$175,000 to run a small CSU lobbying office. Aveilhe lobbies for legislation favorable to the CSU system and polishes its image by arranging for its scholars to testify as experts before congressional committees. Unlike Sweet, he also seeks opportunities to apply for federal contracts and grants — "the grantsmanship game," he calls it.

Les Francis:

A veteran Democratic campaign worker, Francis heads a lobbying firm that is paid \$122,846 a year to represent Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig in Washington. The total does not include \$184,531 a year in taxes that Honig spends on a "federal liaison" office that tracks federal education programs from Sacramento.

Pat McGinnis, one of Francis' deputies, says that she wrote the legislation that created the U.S. Department of Education as a member of President Jimmy Carter's administration.

"Superintendent Honig is interested in making sure not only that the maximum funds come to California," she said, "but also that the (federal) laws are written in a way that supports the education reforms in the state."

In interviews for this article, most of the state's lobbyists in Washington insisted that they more than earned their salaries by saving the state money, and they presented some detailed examples of how they have done so.

A few privately acknowledged that the state's lobbying duties could be handled more effectively — and at lower costs — if it were possible to combine the scattered programs in one central lobbying office. Others said that would have the drawback of eliminat-

ing the special expertise of some private lobbying firms now retained by the state.

Practically speaking, the state's lobbyists are probably destined to get together only when someone convenes a brown-bag lunch. There are too many political egos (from Deukmejian to Brown to Davis to Honig) and institutional rivalries (from UC to CSU to the Department of Finance to the Board of Equalization) involved in operating the separate lobbying shops. 

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ROLL CALL

CREDIT CARD INTEREST RATES

AB 2 (Areias) Would have limited the interest rate banks could charge on credit cards to no more than 8 percentage points above the six-month U.S. Treasury bill rate. Rejected by the Assembly June 25th, 28-40.

CHILDCARE

AB 368 (Moore) Requires employers to grant male and female employees up to four months' unpaid leave to care for sick children. Passed the Assembly June 25th, 43-35.

BUDGET TRAILER BILL

AB 439 (Vasconcellos) A companion to the 1987-88 budget bill, the trailer bill implements technical provisions of the budget. Passed the Senate June 23rd, 34-0; Passed the Assembly July 1st, 70-9. Chaptered.

MINIMUM WAGE

AB 1187 (Floyd) Would increase the hourly minimum wage from \$3.35 to \$4.25. Passed the Assembly June 25th, 44-35.

WATER

AB 1710 (Costa) Would widen channels in the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta and increase water shipments from North to South. Passed the Assembly June 25th, 43-30.

WATER

SB 32 (Ayala) Would resurrect many features of the 1982 Peripheral Canal proposal to build a canal bypassing the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta and increase water shipments to Southern California. Passed the Senate June 8th, 21-15.

SENATE

Democrats	AB 439	SB 32	SB 152	SB 692	SB 1000	SB 1658	Republicans	AB 439	SB 32	SB 152	SB 692	SB 1000	SB 1658
Alquist	Y	•	Y	Y	N	•	Bergeson	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Ayala	•	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Beverly	Y	Y	•	Y	Y	•
Boatwright	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	•	Campbell	Y	Y	N	Y	•	N
Deddeh	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	•	Craven	•	Y	•	•	•	•
Dills	Y	Y	Y	•	N	Y	Davis	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Garamendi	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Doolittle	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
C. Green	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Ellis	Y	Y	N	•	Y	•
B. Greene	Y	Y	Y	•	•	Y	Maddy	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
L. Greene	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Morgan	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N
Hart	Y	N	Y	Y	•	Y	Nielsen	•	N	Y	•	•	N
Keene	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Richardson	•	Y	N	•	•	•
Lockyer	Y	N	Y	Y	•	Y	Rogers	Y	Y	•	Y	Y	N
Marks	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Royce	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
McCorquodale	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Russell	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	•
Mello	Y	N	Y	N	•	Y	Seymour	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Montoya	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	•							
Petris	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y							
Presley	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y							
Robbins	Y	•	Y	•	•	Y							
Roberti	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y							
Rosenthal	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y							
Torres	Y	•	Y	Y	N	Y							
Vuich	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y							
Watson	Y	•	Y	•	N	Y							

Independent

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BUDGET

SB 152 (Alquist) The 1987-88 state budget. Passed the Senate June 23rd, 29-8; Passed the Assembly July 1st, 68-10. Chaptered.

RENT CONTROL

SB 692 (Keene) Would prohibit local governments from imposing rent controls on commercial properties. Residential properties would not be affected. Passed the Senate June 22nd, 24-8.

AIDS TESTING

SB 1000 (Doolittle) Would permit a doctor treating an AIDS patient to inform other medical personnel about the case. Part of a package of bills on acquired immune deficiency syndrome. Passed the Senate June 25th, 21-11.

MINIMUM WAGE

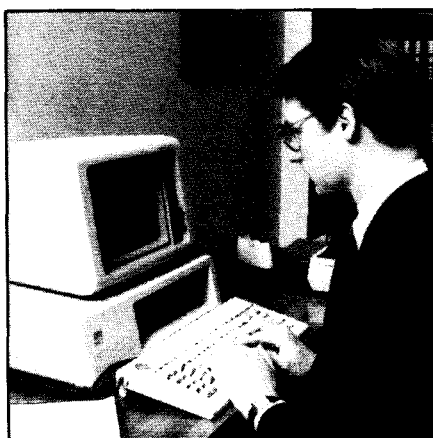
SB 1658 (Torres) Would increase the state's minimum wage by 90 cents to \$4.25, effective January 1, 1988. Passed the Senate June 25th, 21-10.

ASSEMBLY

Democrats	AB 2	AB 368	AB 439	AB 1187	AB 1710	SB 152	Republicans	AB 2	AB 368	AB 439	AB 1187	AB 1710	SB 152
Agnos	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Allen	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Areias	Y	Y	N	Y	•	N	Bader	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Bane	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Baker	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Bates	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Bradley	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Bronzan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	D. Brown	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
W. Brown	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Chandler	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Calderon	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Duplissee	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Campbell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Felando	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Chacon	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Ferguson	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Clute	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Filante	N	•	Y	N	N	Y
Condit	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Frazee	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Connelly	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Frizzelle	•	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Cortese	•	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Grisham	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Costa	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Hansen	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Eastin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Harvey	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Eaves	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Hill	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Elder	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Johnson	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Farr	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Jones	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Floyd	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Kelley	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Friedman	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	LaFollette	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Hannigan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Lancaster	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Harris	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Leonard	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Hauser	•	Y	N	Y	N	N	Leslie	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Hayden	Y	Y	N	Y	•	N	Lewis	N	N	Y	N	•	Y
Hughes	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Longshore	N	N	Y	N	•	Y
Isenberg	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	McClintock	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Johnston	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Mojonnier	•	•	•	•	•	•
Katz	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Mountjoy	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Killea	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Nolan	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Klehs	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Quackenbush	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Margolin	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Seastrand	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Moore	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Statham	N	N	N	N	N	N
O'Connell	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Stirling	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Peace	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Wright	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Polanco	•	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Wyman	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Roos	•	Y	Y	Y	Y	•	Zeltner	•	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Roybal-Allard	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y							
Sher	•	Y	Y	Y	N	Y							
Speier	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y							
Tanner	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y							
Tucker	Y	Y	Y	Y	•	Y							
Vasconcellos	Y	Y	Y	Y	•	Y							
M. Waters	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y							
N. Waters	•	Y	Y	Y	N	Y							

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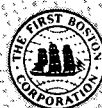
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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Pete Wilson's advantage

Polls more than a year before an election seldom measure much beyond "name recognition." That, of course, is the polite way of saying that only the best-known candidates do well because voters don't know most candidates this early and don't really care to.

KEEPING IN MIND the fragility of such polls, here's an equally valid statistical sampling that demonstrates Republican Senator Pete Wilson's biggest advantage as he prepares for his re-election campaign next year. It's the fabled "power of incumbency."

The computerized library of the *San Francisco Chronicle* shows that Pete Wilson's name has been mentioned in the *Chronicle* 134 times from January to July of this year. (A handful of those references were apparently to a local television anchorman of the same name, but some voters probably confuse the two anyway.)

By contrast, Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy, the early front-runner for the Democratic nomination to oppose Wilson, was mentioned 59 times in the same period. Secretary of State March Fong Eu, another Democrat seeking the Senate nomination, was mentioned 30 times. Representative Robert Matsui of Sacramento, who has expressed some interest in the race, was mentioned 17 times.

Why so many mentions of Wilson? Is the *Chronicle's* Washington bureau a patsy for every Wilson utterance? I hope not, because I'm the paper's Washington bureau chief. From where I sit, it seems that Wilson is simply adept at capitalizing on his opportunities.

A United States senator tends to make news simply because he is playing in the political big leagues and weighing in with comments — and votes — on issues from the Persian Gulf to the cost of milk.

Aided by a savvy staff, Wilson has been exploiting his opportunities, churning out newsy announcements almost daily. As a Republican in a Democrat-controlled Senate, Wilson is limited in his ability to pass legislation and extract pork-barrel goodies. But the White House is still controlled by Republicans, and that means the executive branch gives Wilson every opportunity to claim credit for decisions benefitting California.

When the Army resisted demands that it turn over an old Public Health Service hospital in San Francisco for an AIDS clinic, House Democrats from California wrote legislation to force the transfer. When the Army decided to capitulate, the Pentagon delivered its decision to Wilson so that he could announce it — and claim credit for clinching the deal through his behind-the-scenes lobbying as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

With crops rotting in the fields of California, House Democrats from the state wrote legislative language that would force the Immigration and Naturalization Service to loosen its restrictions on seasonal farm workers who are allowed in

from Mexico under the new federal immigration law. When the INS commissioner announced he was accepting the changes, Wilson boasted that his two phone calls on the matter to White House Chief of Staff Howard Baker had turned the trick.

Wilson's political circumstances also give him the ability to pick his issues to best advantage. Because the senator is not expected to face any serious opposition in the Republican primary next June, he can emphasize the moderate side of his political profile in his Senate actions. For example, Wilson wrote several letters to Reagan urging the appointment of a gay to the presidential commission on AIDS. In a contested primary, Wilson probably would have been attacked by conservative Republicans for pushing "gay quotas" on the president.

Wilson's campaign strategists say he is in solid shape as he prepares for his re-election effort. He has avoided the image of a knee-jerk conservative, especially on environmental issues that are of special concern in California.

In addition to campaigning against the Reagan administration's offshore oil drilling plans, Wilson has repeatedly sought the role of mediator between pro-development and pro-environment forces. Wilson has pushed through compromise versions of more ambitious measures sponsored by Democratic Senator Alan Cranston to protect wilderness areas and wild rivers. Wilson has hinted he will do the same with Cranston's desert protection bill in the current Congress.

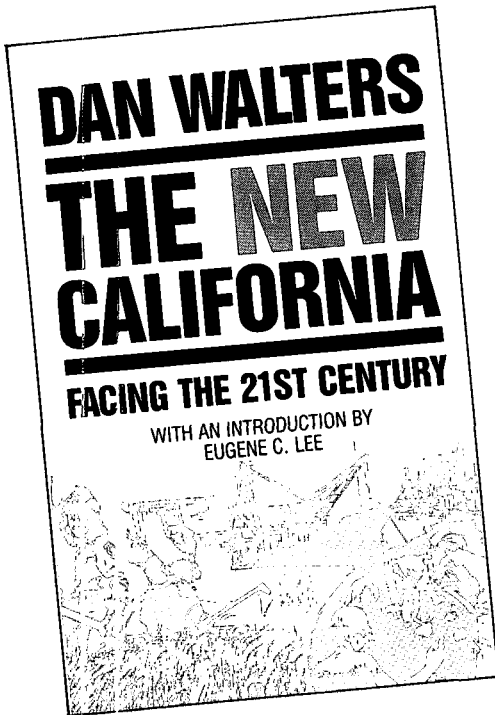
But Democrats say Wilson's role in engineering half-a-loaf compromises on environmental issues is nothing to boast about. "Compared to James Watt, Wilson is OK on the environment, but he's not out in the leadership," complained Bill Press, a Los Angeles television commentator and former aide to ex-Governor Jerry Brown who has been flirting with a candidacy in the Democratic Senate primary.

On defense matters, Wilson has been relentlessly hawkish. Although his advisers admit he will take some heat for his support of the Contra rebels in Nicaragua, they say his support for defense spending is no political liability. California may have been the birthplace of the nuclear-freeze movement but it is also the home of major defense contractors. "Unless you're a real kook about it," said a Wilson strategist, "being for a strong defense and a firm foreign policy is no sin in California."

IN A SENATE SEAT occupied by laid-back John Tunney and sleepy Sam Hayakawa before him, Wilson's backers believe California voters will prove content next year with a senator who lacks flash but is hard-working and reliable.

Those who think Wilson vulnerable — especially if the economy sours and the Iran-Contra scandal leaves the Republicans battered — insist that won't be enough. "Wilson hasn't made any mistakes," said Democrat Press. "That's because he hasn't done anything. People from California are looking for something more in a U.S. senator than somebody who comes back to Washington to play it safe."

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with an introduction
by Eugene C. Lee

The *Sacramento Bee*'s well-known political correspondent, Dan Walters, recently completed a 9000-mile odyssey through California's 58 counties which resulted in a 15-part series in the *Bee*. The articles describe the socioeconomic future of the nation's largest state and the political implications of these trends. This lively and insightful series is now available in book form. The 180-page book contains numerous charts with detailed political and demographic data. Price: \$8.95.

Guide to Government by *League of Women Voters*. This 13th quadrennial edition is a comprehensive guide to the structure and functions of government in California, containing sections on the Constitution, citizen participation, the three branches of government, the five state agencies and boards and commissions, education, local government and the budget. The 173-page book contains information through 1985. **Special Discount:** the regular list price is \$8.95 but *California Journal* readers may purchase the book for \$7.95.

California's Legislature by *James Driscoll*. This is a 256-page comprehensive book on the state's Legislature with six chapters covering every aspect of the institution in detail. This latest edition has been completely revised to include data through the 1986 session. Other chapters cover the executive and judicial branches, constitutional history, election law, media, the Capitol building and numerous appendices with statistical data and information on the flags of California, seals, the governor's mansion and the origin of California place names. 1986, 6x9", 256 pages, paperbound, \$3.95.

Reporting: An Inside View, by *Lou Cannon*. How many of us know what really goes on behind the scenes in the complex process that determines what is and what isn't fit to print? Anyone interested in the workings of the press during the post-Watergate era will find *Reporting: An Inside View* fascinating reading. 1977. 6 x 9", 308 pages. \$9.95 cloth, \$4.95 paper.

California Government and Politics Annual, 1987-88. Published every year, the *Annual* consists of reprints of *California Journal* articles covering the various branches of government, elections, political reform, lobbying, finance, local government, the environment and much more. The book also includes a "Quick Guide to California Government and Politics." 8½ x 11", 128 pages. \$5.95 paper.

California Public Administration by *T. Anthony Quinn and Ed Salzman*. First published in 1978, this book has become a basic resource for students of California's system of government and for individuals who want to learn about the inner workings of the

state bureaucracy. This second edition contains a large new section on the California tax revolt and the impact of Proposition 13. Sections are included on the top executives, the regulatory agencies, the Legislature, the judicial system, education and the bureaucracy. The book also contains diagrams showing the legislative process, the court system and the state's administrative agencies. 1982, 8½ x 11", 112 pages, \$4.95 paper.

The California Oath Controversy by *David P. Gardner*. The fascinating account of the 1949-1952 loyalty-oath controversy at the University of California, "a nadir in the history of American academic freedom." Hard cover, 329 pages, 1967. List price: \$16.50. New discount price: \$4.95.

Cartoon History of California Politics, by *Ed Salzman and Ann Leigh Brown*. An entertaining history of the state as drawn by political cartoonists from Nast to Conrad. This handsomely-bound book contains 119 cartoons, most of them covering a full page. An ideal gift for yourself or a friend. 1978, 8 x 8", 156 pages, paperback. New discount price: \$3.95.

Almanac of California Government and Politics, 1987-88, fifth edition. Contains 192 photographs and biographies of the state's leaders, maps, historical information on all branches of state government, election statistics and population information, and much more. 5½ x 8½", 200 pages. \$8.95.

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"Le jeu de Trictrac" by Cornelius de Vos zugeschrieben (1583-1651). Museum Adeville. Chinese terra-cotta figures of the Han dynasty, recently discovered in a second century tomb. Backgammon board of 1820, product of the China trade. Providence Preservation Society, Providence, Rhode Island.



Backgammon. Legend has it this game was invented to represent the passing of a year. The 24 points on the board were the hours in a day. Each game piece represented a day of the month. Dice were day and night. When it comes to creating and operating lottery games, GTECH is on time. No matter how big the market or how complex the network. Here in California, the network is programmed for weekly Lotto 6/49. And the gaming can expand easily into other daily, weekly or semi-weekly games. Whatever your game, GTECH is ready. Night and day.

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